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# EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY



# EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

BY  
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**FIRST EDITION**

*To my Teachers*

WARD, SMALL, GIDDINGS  
AND TO

W. I. THOMAS

TO WHOM I OWE A GREAT DEBT



## PREFATORY NOTE

**T**HERE are three prevalent modes of approach to the understanding and solution of educational problems: the common sense, the philosophical, and the scientific. Legislative establishments of professional standards is fast eliminating the first; research and expanded training in professional schools are establishing the last, but the majority of teachers and administrators are still dominated by philosophical notions.

The chief characteristics of the prevalent philosophical attitudes and objectives in this field are: ready guessing when facts are lacking, abstraction, easy generalization, and sometimes dogmatism. In short, it is very difficult for educators steeped in philosophies of one sort or another to avoid rationalization in the Robinsonian\* sense. So it comes about that a babel of voices is heard today demanding types of educational efforts organized as "progressive education," "freedom of activity," "follow the child's instincts," "socialized recitation," and so on. The particular fashion followed by any one educator tends to harmonize with his personal tastes or ideals.

True, those who attempt the scientific approach are not always free from such defects and not all of the philosophical concepts are invalid. The chief danger of the philosophical approach is its existing tendency to substitute for a thoroughly critical and questioning attitude stereotyped definitions of policy and method, in short, **stop-thought, soporific effects.**

The scientific approach, on the other hand, is characterized by loyalty to reality, scrupulous postulation, utilization of scientific method, verifiability, meticulous differentiation,

\* Robinson, J. H., *Mind or the Making*.



testing and experiment, and continuous doubting and questioning.

The foregoing criticism of the prevalent fashions in educational philosophy raises the question: Can philosophy be made a more effective tool in education than it is at present? It can, provided it gets a fresh start through redefinition of its fundamental task. At present—though there are some signs of improvement—educational philosophy considers as its area the field where least is known. Here it makes guesses, establishes postulates as to objectives and methods, with somewhat less consideration of the contents of subjects in the curriculum. Curiously enough it draws heavily upon the older sociological literature which was built upon speculation, opinion, and insights more or less valid but generally broadly theoretical and philosophical—armchair composition—rather than analytical, inductive, and scientific.

This accounts in some measure for the amazing amount of confusion, among educators, of educational philosophy with educational sociology. It is not at all impossible, in fact, to find courses in the latter subject conducted with textbooks in "Philosophy of Education." Such confusion leads to neither the development of a valid philosophy of education nor the clarification and exposition of the educational problems and processes to which educational sociology must address itself.

If, on the other hand, philosophy is defined not as an effort to set up guides for immediate action in the areas of least knowledge, thereby substituting generalized postulation for scientific experimentation, but, in terms of Bertrand Russell, as *scientia scientiarum*, the "science of the sciences," it will assume as its task that of integrating the validated findings of all the special sciences with reference to the concrete and differentiated problems of education, objectives, contents, methods, and relations to other community activities. In short, it will lead out from such significant efforts as are illustrated by Watson, Thomas, Jennings, et al., in their *Contributions of Modern Science to Education*. This work is, I believe, the most significant contribution to a

## PREFATORY NOTE



real philosophy of education that I have yet been able to discover.

When one realizes that much propaganda is carried on at present ■ change whole school systems on philosophical propositions of the "guessing" rather than the "synthetic" or "integrative" kind, then it would seem of value to wait patiently for enough validated contributions of the scientific sort before launching out into educational reorganization. The common sense approach as reflected in the traditional aspects ■ American education may be, though conservative, more justifiable than changes "guessed" at.

The present work constitutes an exhibit of the ways in which sociology as a special social science may apply its techniques to educations of various kinds for wide varieties of types and groups of persons, youths and adults. Since educational sociology is so young and has relatively few researchers devoted to its development, it is not surprising that its earlier efforts might easily be confused with philosophy. But the task undertaken here is threefold: (1) to define and illustrate fundamental sociological concepts and analysis; (2) to apply sociological analysis to educational agencies, processes, and objectives as they exist, that those engaged in them may better understand their task; and (3) to indicate the methodological techniques of sociology whereby educational problems may be more clearly and adequately defined and attacked. This volume deals with (1) and (2); a second volume will deal with (3).

The emphasis throughout is therefore placed not upon philosophy, nor on theory, but upon the sociological methodologies most pertinent to and potent for the development ■ a science ■ education.

This is written for students chiefly, not for professional sociologists; though there are advances here and there with which the latter may not agree. The references are in the text; other titles are to guide the reading of the students who can range more widely.

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D. H. K.

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NOTE: A bracket list can be made up of those titles that occur most frequently in chapter "Readings," which are marked (\*) in this list

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*Book I*  
*Education in the Community*





# EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

## CHAPTER I

### *WHY HAVE SCHOOLS?*

**M**ANY A PUPIL has asked himself this question. Many an educator has not. Too frequently the pupil's answer is likely to be nearer the truth. Not many of the so-called educators in this country have answered the question realistically. Therefore let us consider the answers that different people make to such a question.

#### VARIOUS ANSWERS

First, the pupils. Many in the lower grades, fewer in the secondary levels, will say, "So that we can learn." If you ask them, "Learn what?" they will reply, "Whatever the teachers want us to." And that's about that. Other pupils, usually boys in high schools say, "Because our parents want us to get an education." If you say, "And do you?" they will smile and perhaps offer you a quizzical "Yes." Others: "To give teachers jobs"; "We have always had schools"; "To keep children busy." A few: "To make us do what they want us to", and a few: "... before we realize what is done to us", or, "I don't know for the life of me."

What do teachers say? Some answer as the pupils, "Because we must have them if we are to educate the young." "Because parents don't do their jobs." "Because our community wants them." Ask these "Why?" and you get: "Because it has always had schools ever since the little red school house was so common"; or "Because people believe in education." You will admit that some of these answers are not far wrong. But if you press them further with "Why's?" they give you more or less of a stereotyped answer: "Children

need to be educated for life" "What is life?" you ask, and they look at you in amazement, for doesn't everyone know what life is? "It is. We're in it, so why ask me to explain it? Don't be silly!"

Principals and superintendents have their answers too: "Because taxpayers want them"; "The laws demand them and government cannot run without them"; "Democracy can only be maintained by an educated citizenship and schools are essential in producing enlightened voters"; "Parents are too busy or too ignorant to teach their children so we must do it for them" A few say, "To keep children off the streets and busy for their own good." Ask "What do you mean by 'their own good'?" and their answer is, "Out of mischief. Idle children are more likely to become criminals." Then you think of the old adage from an early copy book, "The devil finds many things for idle hands to do." And are these answers not true? How far?

Now let's ask the parents, first as parents and then as taxpayers, for in these days both the mothers and the fathers pay taxes and may vote. Some mothers say, "I want my child to grow up better than I am." "Well?" "To know more, to succeed." Others: "To take care of the children while I am out working" or "shopping," or "busy." The fathers? "So our children can be good citizens, making their own way in the community independently." "To prevent crime." "To maintain a democratic government." "So that the children may have greater opportunities for success." "What do you mean by 'success'? Wealth?" "Not only that, but that is very important these days, you know." And then you wonder.

As taxpayers they say, "We have to pay taxes for schools so let's have them and as good as we can get them." When pressed, they reply, "We have to pay the taxes, the law requires us to." Or, like the school administrators, "We cannot maintain a democratic government without an enlightened citizen body." "The maintenance of life, political, industrial, and commercial requires knowledge and skills both fundamentals and technicals. Where can children get them? Not in schools?" And where can they?

The religious citizen and the 100 percenter say, "To develop good character." Inquire further as to "character" and they say, "Upright, reliable, and independent citizens." "To create a righteous people who know and do good." "What good?" Surprised, they reply, "According to the ideals and principles of Christianity." Here you think of historical Christianity and you wonder what happened to it before the Revolution of 1776.

#### ANSWERS VARY WITH INTERESTS

So you see different people vary in their answers depending upon their interests and their outlook on life. Thus union organizers, highly conscious of the inadequacies of economic organizations in American life and of the close relationships between business, industry, and government and between government, politics, and schools, say that we have schools in order to control the masses in favor of the interests. ■ They want to develop their own schools. Pacifists say schools are traps for militarists and patrioters. On compulsory military training, the "worship" of the flag (do not confuse this with respect), and lock-step education support their answer? Professional persons such as lawyers, doctors, architects, navigators, and so on, regard the schools as sources of supply for new members. The upper classes socially and economically vary in their attitudes toward schools. In the East many send their sons to preparatory schools and their daughters to finishing schools as stepping-stones to college or to marriage. To these schools, public or private, are doors to elite society, and are exploited accordingly.

It is amazing that people generally seem to be just waking up to the fact that schools do affect behavior. The publicity departments of a wide variety of associations and organizations and the advertisers of business firms and manufacturers are moving ■ utilize the schools for their specific objectives. The school population, more than one-fifth\* of our total population and four-fifths of all children 5 to 17 years, are brought together under favorable conditions of receptivity — age of the pupils and authority of the school — so that

\* Excluding 11 to 17%.

propagandists are most enthusiastic about having schools. Schools are great "selling" agencies. In them you can sell anything, provided you can get the chance, from tooth-brushes to war.

Says James E. Russell,\* former dean of Teachers College and one who has stood for years on the watchtower of education, when discussing the Oregon case which dealt with the question of freedom of learning and the Tennessee case that turned on the matter of freedom of teaching:

The trend of public opinion in matters educational is part and parcel of the tendency of the state to shape conduct by legal enactment. Whether we like it or not, some school boards will sit in judgment on history texts and some will bar out modern science. The war taught us that Germans could be eliminated from our schools. Who knows what labor unionists, or chambers of commerce, or Biblical fundamentalists will insist on next? I foresee trouble enough to keep us from stagnation. Once a homogeneous group, bent on having its own way, gets the notion that the schools can be used to promote its particular tenets, that group will surely seek to shape educational procedure. As soon as one group succeeds in influencing school affairs, some other group will rise in opposition and demand to be heard. This is no idle speculation. parties and sects and unions are even now contending for preference in a way embarrassing to those who look to the larger good. The most hopeful sign is that contending groups may neutralize each other, thus giving the teacher a chance to work out his own salvation.

#### EDUCATORS' ANSWERS

How do educational forthinkers answer our question? From the "Handbook of Major Educational Issues"† one can get an organized expression in simple form:

Public schools are maintained to promote the general welfare. Men and women are capable of being made more responsible and more intelligent through training. On this fact rests our faith in democratic forms of living and working together.

Economists recognize that education is our most valuable form of wealth.

The public school is civilization's insurance against the loss of

\* Teachers College, Report of the Board 1925. New York, November 1925, p. 2.

† Research Bulletin of the N. E. A., Sept. 1926, 1200 Shattuck Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., p. 116.

its most valuable form of wealth — its culture, morality, idealism, mechanical genius, government, and home life.

The public school is also civilization's method of insuring future progress. It offers a nation the chance to make a new start with each generation. The public school has the task of educating children to replace the millions and a quarter trained men and women over twenty, who die each year. Progress demands more than this. . . . It demands that each generation be better educated than the last. Civilization does not stand still. It either moves forward or backward.

All of this is summarized thus:

The public school of today has as its purpose. Education — the modification of conduct in the direction of developing higher moral character, better health habits, civic efficiency, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocational efficiency, and wholesome use of leisure.\*

And here is an answer by a great engineering leader:†

It is necessary that we begin to rear a new child for this new world, one who is fully equipped to direct its forces and instruments of power, who can master it rather than be mastered by it. We who are concerned in any way with the betterment of children are engaged in a work of racial defense and it is essential that we summon to the task the most accurate knowledge that science can give us, that we perfect our social machinery and man it with experts, and that we look steadily ahead to a clearly visioned goal.

#### SOCIOLOGISTS ON SCHOOLS

WHAT DO sociologists say in answer to our query? We can consider only a few of the more prominent ones. Lester F. Ward, the founder of American sociology, maintains that "Education is the proximate means of progress."

His argument ‡ runs thus:

Progress comes only through action. But action is expressed under the direction of opinion. Opinions to be reliable must base upon knowledge. Knowledge must be spread among the masses. Education is the means of universalizing knowledge.

Schools are "an artificial system § for storing impressions,

\* *Ibid.*, p. 178.

† *Harvard Magazine*, October 1906, p. 542.

‡ *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, Appendix, New York 1910.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 546. "Artificial" in the sense of "artificial."

for causing their systematic presentation, for precluding the introduction of false ones, and the drawing of erroneous inferences. . . ." In other words, they are special agencies for selecting and controlling children's experience.

E. C. Hayes long before Briggs concluded that "education consists in causing people to like what they ought to like" — the creation of desirable likings. But how shall we determine "desirabilities"? Some\* see the job of the schools as that of culture transmission: to pass on to the young what has been achieved to date through invention, ideological or technological. Some, principally Cooley, say the schools provide, through friendly teaching and conditions of group loyalty, favorable opportunity for personality growth. Frequently they urge that schools are provided to insure social efficiency (Wallis, Cooley, Todd, Scott, Bristol). Todd discusses at length their tasks in providing for and maintaining what he calls "social progress."

But is there any satisfactory definition of "social progress"?

With his background of natural science, particularly biology, Herbert Spencer, the great English sociologist, regards schools as important agencies of "perfecting the structure of the organism, and making it fit for the business of life." Though health work in schools would appear to be foreshadowed that is not what Spencer meant. Rather he conceived school learning as a means of controlling and directing the finest maturing of the physical being, with special reference to the survival value of well-developed brains in the struggle for existence. How far does such a statement hold today, in view of all our charitable work and the surplus economy under which we live? Do not idiots and imbeciles survive? Is it possible to say that one can keep alive without training? On the other hand does not normal survival in modern life involve much more education because of its tremendous complexity? Do mental breakdowns, nervous diseases, "insanity," and so on indicate a fundamental validation of Spencer's interpretation of school functions?

\* Such as Hayes, Small, Sumner, Keller, Wallis, Winsor.

The responsibilities of schools for these various developments, personality, physical, and the like, are frequently summed up by sociological writers as "opportunity." Cooley, Blackmar and Gillin, and others, make much of the point that, but for schools, opportunity to grow, physically, mentally, morally, would be denied to large sections of our population. But again we raise the question, did not children grow in these ways before there were schools?

Common too is the tendency in sociological writings to relate "opportunity" to government. Schools are thought of as "cradles of liberty," "castles of freedom," "bulwarks of democracy," "defenders of law," "foundations of the state." For all people to participate in a democracy, all must have a certain amount of learning. Blackmar and Gillin make much of Washington's injunction in his *Farewell Address*:

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened.\*

Are schools as important institutions now as they were in Washington's day? What with radios, movies, magazines, newspapers, libraries, and so on, if we still need schools, do we need them for so long a time? For all people alike?

Ignorance is dangerous to stable government. Ignorance must be feared. Thus schools are based on fear, fear of the ignorant, the baleful, the hateful, the obnoxious. That is why, says Giddings, communities appropriate large sums of money for schools — to teach the young how not to be baleful, hateful, or obnoxious. This answer seems re-enforced by the historical fact that as states by revolution establish themselves securely enough, they immediately organize schools as agencies of defense and protection to the new government. Witness in this connection our own early history, French or German history, more recently the rapid rise of schools in Russia and in China. In all these instances schools are aimed at the buttressing of governmental attitudes, policies, and organizations.

\* *Washington, Messages and Papers of the President*, Vol. 1, 220.



While fear may have operated in the first instance does it still control? Somewhat, as shown by the tide of patriotic inculcation where the fear is that our nation might be too weak to defend itself against an alien aggressor. But for the ordinary person this fear is more theoretical than real. Two real fears exist and enter into an explanation of "Why have schools?" First, some of us are afraid of others of us. We fear their different ideas and ways of doing things. Therefore we want to make them the same as we are. Industrial schools, trade schools, religious or parochial schools, military schools, and the like, all bear witness to this fact.

Secondly, we fear our enemy, the child. He is always with us. At best he is always more or less strange. He doesn't learn all he should; he thinks out and discovers some things for himself; so he does not always agree with his seniors. We fear disagreement. Schools may not eliminate all of this danger of variation from the average, this challenge of fashions or conventions, but at least they can sufficiently regiment the child that the danger is decreased as much as possible. That is why the pressure of certain groups upon schools is as great as James E. Russell described it.

Caullet<sup>6</sup> insists that modern nations maintain schools not only to transmit information or knowledge but also to create wishes or desires. The young child would not learn many things of importance to the community on his own account because he does not understand their worth, either to himself or to society, at present or in the future. ■ is for the school, while transmitting knowledge, *pari passu* ■ stimulate desires for knowledges and skills. Is this a severe arraignment of the cry, "Follow the child's interests"? Does Caullet's position seriously challenge the theory that we have schools for the sake of the children or that "Education is life"? Do we have schools for the sake of the child fundamentally or for the sake of the community? Or both? For which and in what ways?

Certain it is that Caullet stresses a glaring defect ■ our schools: the attention given to acquiring knowledges and skills (intellectual education) to the relative neglect of con-

<sup>6</sup> Caullet, Paul, *Éléments de Sociologie*, Paris, 1907.

trolled organization of feelings around objects, persons, or ideas (emotional education).

In a significant treatise by Emile Durkheim, *Education et Sociologie*, there is the contention that schools make possible collective life by inculcating an advance in the minds of children essential similarities of knowledges and attitudes. Their function is to develop in children those characteristics, physical, intellectual, and moral that enable them to fit not only into the larger body politic but also into the special niches of the community for which they are particularly destined. Most important of all is his thesis, derived by analysis of a "cultural milieu" or a "social act" as it will be called in this book — that schools cannot educate beyond the state of life in which the child lives and finds meaning. But we shall consider this thesis again later on. It is enough at present to note that he considers the school as a practical agency whereby the child is inducted into and made acquainted with the characteristics and meanings of his own community culture.

#### UNSATISFACTORY ANSWERS OF SOCIOLOGISTS

As one reads through the writings of sociologists, one is impressed with the absence of evidence and the prevalence of generalizing that smacks strongly of "wishful thinking." Their ideas express what the school might or should be rather than what it is. Their approach is more philosophic than scientific. They do, however, suggest how one might get answers to our query, "Why have schools?" on an objective and scientific basis. The chaff must be winnowed from the wheat in their contributions, for their answers range from high truth to high error. In some cases, their writings have blazed new trails in educational research and methods, e. g., Cooley; in others, they have simply given expression to traditional or stereotyped notions, such as those on "liberty," "democracy," or "program." No hard thinking individual allows himself to be misled by such easy generalities and abstractions.

Is it valid to say that the answers of the sociologists to our query are on the whole unreliable or unsatisfactory and that

answers that may possess at least a reasonably high degree of relative adequacy can be arrived at only through a more direct approach?

#### EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS ON SCHOOLS

WHAT DO educational sociologists say in answer to the query, "Why have schools"? Presumably they have been forced to seek reliable answers because our query is fundamental. It has been their task to analyze communities, at least those activities and phases most closely related to schools. Without such analyses how could they assist in determining either objectives, policies, contents, or procedures of schools as one set of community agencies, manifestly achieving part of the total function of communities?

In the writings of W. R. Smith\* one finds prominent the concept that schools are the special handmaids of government to produce the kind of citizen that can be called "good." The "good" citizen is one who actively interests himself in maintaining his government and participates in its direction. To this end he must have "training for economic life, training for social life, training for cultural life, and training for political life." The schools thus are designed to burrow the state.

The other educational sociologists reveal less emphasis upon the political relations of school purposes. Good† regards the school as the "chief specialized group for information." This information is old and new, limitless in amount and variety, and available to all. A proposition that seems reasonable enough at first glance but fraught with difficulties and, in view of later knowledge of individual capacities and societal opportunities, very doubtful of practical application. This author further defines school functions in terms of increasing social contacts within school groups and of increasing the efficiency of activities in non-school groups.

Snodden‡ says elementary schools train children in fundamental skills, encourage leisure activities, stimulate intellectual curiosity. They "instruct" in geography, history, and

\* Smith, W. R., *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, pp. 143 ff.

† Good, A., *Sociology and Education*, New York 1926.

‡ Snodden, D., *Educational Sociology*, New York 1928.

hygiene. In other words they offer to children arts or forms of knowledge which the home environment does not give. His definition is rather in terms of practice than of theoretical outcomes.

The chief rôle of the school for Peters\* is that of a time-saver. It provides systematic guidance of youth through selected experiences regarded as essential preparation for adult life. It reduces trial and error and telescopes the period of learning. It removes the gaps that would otherwise exist.

It is quite apparent that educational sociology has not yet offered satisfactory answers to our fundamental query and that one of its tasks is to delimit and clarify in a well-rounded way just what schools are for, taking account at the same time of prevalent and desirable practices and outcomes. The workers in this field have taken one or another clue or given a particular emphasis in dependence upon the particular sociologist whom they have followed. They have now the duty to push the sociologists' contributions to defining the rôle of the school into greater precision and more complete form.

#### HOW VALID ARE THE REASONS OFFERED?

Is it pertinent to raise the question, "Why have schools?" In a field of human experience that has been so widely organized have the outcomes proved the value of the experiment? Can we be sure that we are not rationalizing our schools by outcomes not of schools but of newspapers, libraries, press, family life, vacations, play, and so on? Have educators not given credit to schools when it belongs to other social institutions?

#### WHAT OF THE OUTCOMES?

It has been contended that schools are necessary for an enlightened citizenship, which is essential to the maintenance of democratic government. For the twentieth century alone, we have had nearly three decades of widely organized learning and teaching in schools—time enough to judge the ex-

\* Peters, G. C., *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, New York: 1914.

periment by the product. What is the product? Of all these enlightened citizens who are eligible to vote to maintain democratic government, less than half of them do so. Are governments, city, state, national any more effective, democratic, responsible, free from graft and scandal, than in the first three decades of our national history when there were schools but not compulsorily attended nor so extensively organized?

Now what of those who do vote? They have been through our schools. Do they vote intelligently with a clear knowledge of the issues involved and a reasonably certain understanding of the implications of party platforms for the solution of common problems?

How many of them understand enough about cultural changes and social movements to appreciate just what the elections and party platforms signify for national welfare? Of college graduates, how many have the time or take the time to analyze collective crises and formulate an intelligent judgment as to best solutions? Even if one takes the time, how can he be sure the information he turns up is valid and real and not propaganda, put out for his consumption, and biased by the special groups that carry on the propaganda? Take an issue like public ownership of municipal car lines, water, light, Muscle Shoals, or a tax rate for public schools, or appropriations for parks or roads, intervention in Latin American countries, prohibition, farm relief—any or all of these as reflected in local or national campaigns. How many have the knowledge, or time, or confidence in facts to vote intelligently? Because of our inability to get reliable data are we not at the mercy of propagandists? Of what good, so far as our intelligent citizen goes, has our school experience been to us? How many clock hours a year do we spend, most of us, in participating in government? We spend two or three hours a year, casting our votes, encouraging others to do so, paying our taxes, but what happens when our representative gets into government? Is he free to act for the welfare of us who put him there? Consider the long and hard fight Governor Smith had to carry out the clear mandates of the people of New York. Consider how Hard-

ing was victimized by the vested interests that put him into the presidential chair, as revealed by sensational investigations into the Teapot Dome oil scandal. Or consider Governor Finchet of Pennsylvania; even the organized miners, whom he had materially helped in their struggle for higher wages, did not support him when he declared himself for prohibition.

So one might subject other contended justifications of our schools on a compulsory basis to a rather severe critique. Our schools are designed, we are told, to help us maintain "freedom." Freedom from what? The interference of other nations? In that case, they are quite successful. But in our daily lives have we any more or less freedom than formerly? Are our own lives not hedged in by additional laws, prescriptions, rules, regulations with every new invention and every new session of our law-making bodies? The reply might be made that schools teach us how to play the game within all these rules, but it is hard to be sure that we are not rationalizing. Certainly, according to many protest societies liberty is today in a state of jeopardy — what with injunctions, contempt proceedings, and the like. From time to time, and from coast to coast and line to Gulf, reports come revealing the fact that the constitutional guarantees of the fundamental freedoms of assemblage, speech, and press are invaded whenever the assailing group is powerful enough to do so. Sectionalism, sectarianism, and intolerance make their assaults in a variety of ways and on a multiplicity of occasions. What then of our school outcome?

Or again consider their outcomes in terms of education itself. We have before us the results of studies showing no difference in achievement at fifteen years of age between those who began at five and those at ten years.\* Then why so much schooling? Shall we say that this early compulsory period though educationally unnecessary is justified in the care it provides for children? Does that mean that our schools for children up to, say, age ten are rationalized nurseries? If so, should this function be put back in the home? Or in view of family disorganization, does it indi-

\* *Twenty-month Handbook of the National Society for the Study of Education.*

cate a desirable trend toward state care of children? Certainly many doubts of this and other kinds are current in professional and lay circles as to the educational outcomes of our schools. Sufficient at least to raise questions looking toward a more scientific determination of school organization and practice.

Or take the avowed outcomes in vocation or play. Have our schools, aside from specialized vocational guidance, directed our youth into satisfactory work? And how have they taught us to play? What kinds of games do we actually carry on, most of us, when we reach adulthood and finally discover our vocation? How many graduates of elementary or secondary schools, who actually participated in play while in school, make a more satisfactory use of their leisure time for adequate recreation and physical exercise? Are the physical education programs developed in terms of adult opportunity for play or are they designed for self-expression during the school period only? Judged by the statistics of commercialized recreation, except in dancing, most of our adult play is vicarious — we sit on bleachers or at the ring-side or at the movies and watch or yell.

Or take socialization as an outcome. Do our youth fit successfully into societal life? If the answer is "yes," how is one to explain the fact of widespread "delinquency" and crime? Or the fact that the average criminal in jail is not 35 or 40 years of age, but 18 to 21?

It would seem that if one attempts to answer our query realistically, the case for all our schools is not upheld. Quantitatively the researches in the *Twenty-seventh Yearbook* do not lend much support to them as at present administered. So we tend to fall back on the intangibles — the quality outcomes — surely a fertile field for rationalization until better measures are derived. Neither is the case against all or some of the schools proved. The best we can say is: "We do not know." We do not yet know enough to say what schools or how much. Which means that we need much research into both quantitative and qualitative criteria.

## IS THE QUERY UNANSWERABLE?

It is clear then that there is no one answer. Schools differ and the reasons for their existence vary with a variety of conditions. The student would do well to attempt to work out different answers for different kinds of schools in different types of communities, teaching different kinds of pupils and serving different kinds of groups. The reasons why we have public high schools may vary as between city and country, classical or technical high schools, wealthy suburban areas or immigrant areas of large cities, and so on. Likewise the answers would vary as between kindergarten, elementary, secondary, university, or professional schools.

Recognizing that there are many reasons to explain any one school, is it yet possible to answer our general question by assembling all the various reasons for schools and listing those that are common to public schools, from kindergartens through high schools?

## A PRACTICAL ANSWER

WE HAVE schools because we have laws that compel us to. This situation we rationalize with reasons some sound, some unfounded, as yet, some wholly false. We are caught in the mechanism of an organization. Tradition bequeaths and courts constrain. We are on a train and move because the train moves. Some of us are quite certain where the train is going; some of us are not quite so sure, especially when we wonder what some of the scenery is worth. We tend to say, "Oh! Ah!" because our companions long ago acquired the habit. But what are we Oh! Ah-ing about? Are we confusing motion with destination? Some philosophers say that the motion is all there is to it. "Education is life." Play, work, sleeping, and eating are also life. Fortunately, the younger generations are not so easily satisfied.

Would it not be fair at this point to answer our query thus:

We have schools because we have them.

At least such an answer leaves us with an obligation to investigate further. That is the first step in shifting the



rationale of our schools from a traditional to a scientific basis.

But how did this come about? How did it happen that after a million years human beings have organized education on a compulsory basis? Why are we likely to continue to have them?

### READINGS

Giddings, F. H., *The Mighty Medicine*. A lively critique of magical elements in modern educational theory and practice.

Thomas, W. I., *Source Book for Social Origins*. Pp. 212-228 (*Education of the Australian Boy Through Initiation Ceremonies*).

Robinson, J. H., *Mind in the Making*. A clear exposition of what is meant by fictional rationalization or wishful thinking. Shows how we find good reasons for what we want to do.

De Lima, Agnes, *Our Enemy the Child*. N. Y., *New Republic*.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION\*

1. If primitive initiation ceremonies were so effective as the materials in Thomas' *Source Book* indicate, then why have schools?

2. What reasons can you suggest that would support the contention that public schools wean the children of laborers away from loyalties to labor objectives?

3. Briggs in his Inglis Lecture at Harvard in 1930 assailed the private preparatory schools. If the college entrance examinations were more truly reflective of high school curricula, what need would there be for private schools?

4. If you cannot educate beyond the culture of a child's social world as Durkheim claims, then why have schools? Can you offer case illustrations that support or challenge his contentions?

5. From your own experience cite cases that show how schools are used for propagandist purposes.

6. Are the statements of the N. E. A. *Research Bulletin* quoted on pp. 6-7 results of research or mere faith? What evidence is there to support them?

7. Of the seven "cardinals," which are realistic and which are faith objectives? Why in each case?

8. What does Hoover mean by "are engaged in a work of racial defense"? p. 7.

9. What changes has the word "equality" undergone in the last fifty years? The name for "opportunity."

\* Teacher and student should note that questions embedded in the text are pertinent for discussion.

10. What criticisms can you offer of the "four" reason for public schools?

11. Can you cite cases that reveal failure of public schools to provide emotional education?

12. What is your picture of a "good" citizen? How do you come by it?

13. Which reasons of the educational sociologists are philosophical - wishful thinking? Which are scientific - factual?

14. What evidences do you think support our schools as at present organized? What data can you offer from experience or from reading which offset the challenges concerning "outcomes"? pp. 15-16.

15. What are the defects of the studies reported on "Nature and Nurture"? 27th Yearbook (p. 15).

16. How could you support the following proposition? Even though the first five years in our public schools served only a nursery function, we still should have them. Alike for all children?

17. What characteristics of school theory and practice indicate that we confuse "motion" with "destination"? p. 17.

18. Why can schools not be concerned about "ultimate" but only about "immediate" objectives?

#### EXERCISES

1. List the kinds of objections educators (generally consider mathematics teachers, Latin teachers, etc.) make to the cutting down of school periods. Can you offer guesses to account for these objections? If you have occasion, gather data by interview through proposing to an elementary teacher that her subject be eliminated. Then press for her reasons for each objection.

2. Hand in a considered written answer to the query, "Why Have Schools?"

3. Interview a child whom you know well and record his or her answer to this question: "What did your public school education fail to do for you?" Compare answers so collected.

## CHAPTER III

### *IS EDUCATION A SOCIAL INSTITUTION?*

#### I. ANALYSIS OF SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS

##### THE SOCIOLOGY OF INSTITUTIONS

**C**HILDREN go to schools in the United States because here education is one of the major societal values. It has become a part of our conscious tradition "to get an education." To be informed, to be skilled, to possess competency in our vocations and confidence in our social relationships is a common ideal of parents for their children. That there is a mythical element of large proportions in our conception of what schooling will do for us need not concern us here. People want education for themselves and others at almost any cost. According to the statistics of school attendance, from kindergarten to graduate school, they are getting it to an extent never before experienced in the world.

But we have not always regarded schooling so highly. Our modern schools are the outgrowth of a long history. Anyone familiar with American social history knows that a bitter struggle was waged before the leaders achieved the acceptance of universal compulsory education.\* Our modern systems of education were an evolution of common practices that reach far back into antiquity.

Before tracing the national history of our school systems, let us first clarify our conception of societal institutions — what they are, how they came to be, and how they influence us.

\* Such as Archibald D. Murphy, Calvin B. Snow, James H. Carter, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Caleb B. Wiley, Caleb Mills, Samuel Lewis, Samuel Galloway, and Theodore Tilton.

## MISCONCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONS

CURIOUSLY enough the very fact that people are always participating in institutions makes it difficult for them to understand these societal phenomena. Their familiarity with the common practices gives them an assurance of knowledge. Teachers think because they instruct classes they know education; ministers, because they preach, comprehend religion; engineers, because they build bridges, are experts on transportation. But this is not necessarily true and sometimes their very blindness makes it impossible for them to get a comprehension of the institution in which they work.

Asked to specify institutions, people will generally designate homes, schools, churches, courts, prisons, playgrounds, art museums, dance halls, banks, factories, railways and the like. The picture in the minds of most people suggested by the word "institution" is that of a building. Such uses are satisfactory for ordinary purposes but must not be confused with sociological or scientific meanings. Strictly speaking, the list given above represents agencies which perform in a practical way the functions of institutions.

But does every societal institution have its own distinct agencies? Not necessarily. For example, homes perform some of the functions of schools, churches, courts, and playgrounds. An overlapping occurs most of the time among many of them. This makes it necessary to distinguish carefully between an institution and the various agencies through which the institution works. Otherwise it is impossible to determine in a more concrete and scientific manner just what an agency can and should do. From the point of view of societal engineering, precisely what can we expect from a home, a school, a church, a playground, a bank, or a factory? Certainly distinctions are imperative if we are to effect a wise division of labor between societal agencies so that social leadership may integrate them for a general advance in welfare.

# INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNITY HABITS

WHAT, then, are institutions? Not the buildings, not the organizations, not even the people who carry them on, but the behaviors, the mass habits, the collective practices of people with their concomitant attitudes. Sociologically, they are listed as language and speech (communication); transportation, industry, commerce (economic institutions); war—coercion or justice; government (political institutions); marriage and the family (domestic institutions); play (recreational); art—painting, sculpture, music, dance, drama (esthetic); religion, health, education, science and the like.

Thus if one were to analyze the total goings-on in China, India, France, or the United States, one would find an indefinite variety of institutions. Everywhere people are marrying, establishing homes and bringing up children, making things and marketing them, settling disputes amicably or forcibly, obeying superiors, playing games, enjoying music or dance, worshipping, instructing. These universal practices can be observed in any community, even photographed. They can be compared and those that are similar can be classified under major concepts. When this is done, we can get an array something like the above list.

## CUSTOMS — INSTITUTIONS — LAWS

BUT THE students should note that not all community habits are institutions. Eating with knives and forks or with chopsticks, wearing soft shirts or wing collars, keeping warm by heating our houses or by wearing more clothes, teaching chemistry by text or by laboratory method—these are not institutions though they are common practices, some in this country, some, say, in China. They are customs or folkways. Customs (*folkways*) may become institutions (*mores*). Some do and some do not. But all institutions have developed from customs. Likewise some institutions remain such while others become laws (*themata*). Thus these universal practices or mass habits may be customary, institutional (*noetic*), or legal (*thematic*).

## IS EDUCATION A SOCIAL INSTITUTION? ■

### THE NATURAL HISTORY OF COMMUNITY HABITS

BRIEFLY formulated and highly generalized, the natural history of a set of collective practices is somewhat as follows: A genius makes an invention. This is imitated by others until it becomes common and thus a mass habit, or custom. The custom continues until a group crisis occurs concerning it, when it is criticized, examined, evaluated, and adjudged. Then it is either tabooed or sanctioned. When it is sanctioned the custom has evolved into an institution. Finally these commonly sanctioned behaviors are written into the actions of legislative assemblies and thereby become statute laws, or themselves.\*

### CUSTOMS ANALYZED

A custom analyzed sociologically is a mass of habits characteristic of a group or a community. But these habits are kept going by new members of societies — children growing up, initiates into groups, or immigrants, because the old members exert pressures upon them to conform to the established customs or group ways. The old members hold attitudes that support the continuity of the custom and resist changes that might be introduced by the newcomers. These attitudes have been analyzed by Hayes† as "group preference for the familiar" and "group expectation." That is to say, a group expects new members to conform to the prevalent habits because it prefers these old familiar ways. It prefers the familiar ways because they represent an economy of effort. A function of any habit is to save time and trouble.

Normally these customary ways are carried on quite unconsciously and most of the pressures to conformity operate quite simply. Occasionally, however, new members deviate from the expected behavior and then the pressures change from oral suggestion and imitation to coercion. Punish-

\* A custom may become dramatic without passing through the institutional stages as in judge-made law. In such a case a judge bases his verdict on "common-law" or custom. After that it operates as a "precedent" and is equal to statute law. Custom has become law without being passed by legislatures.

† Hayes, E. C., *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 391.

ments are administered and the refractory are brought into line. These punishments for violation of the folkways are usually mild, personal, and yet effective. They take the form of overt criticism directly applied, or operate indirectly through gossip that jeopardizes the members' good standing in the group, or by sneers, jibes, and snubs. These are all forms of partial isolation of the violator or a denial of the usual form of group status desired and enjoyed by each member. Sometimes in cases of more serious violation, the new member suffers the extreme punishment of ostracism — as when a girl is not invited a second time to a party because of "bad manners," or a boy is suspended from school because he "just won't behave."

The type and degree of punishment for departure from collective habits is one objective index for distinguishing the degree of evolution which they represent.

As an illustration of the foregoing, let the student answer the following questions:

What pressures are exerted upon a child between the ages 3 and 6 which send him off to school? Do family members talk generally about school? Do they tell him he must go, and when and where? Do neighborhood playmates tell of their experiences? Do they "play school"? Do these suggest to the child what his immediate groups expect of him? What does the child's mother say if the child says, "I don't want to go, I'd rather study at home"? What would neighbors say if the child did not study at all? What characteristic threats do parents and neighbors use when a child tries to stay away from school or plays truant?

#### INSTITUTIONS ANALYZED AS SANCTIONED CUSTOMS

SINCE societal institutions evolve from customs, the core of every institution is the same as in customs, namely, mass habits. But in addition to the attitudes of "preference for the familiar" and "expectation of conformity" that surround the collective habits, an institution is further buttressed by the two types of attitudes that represent sanctions and approvals. These attitudes are: "approval of the results of the activities" and "definite sanction of the activities

as the best possible ones whereby to get the desired and approved results."

Institutions are rationalized customs. Previously these justifications and sanctions that changed customs (folkways) into institutions (mores) were the result of practical experience and wishful thinking. (Compare religious sanctions.) More recently the social sciences have begun to develop objective and scientific sanctions, as for example, objective tests in place of the old-type examination as a basis for promotion or the use of activity analyses of adult vocations instead of tradition for setting up courses in vocational education.

Sometimes these sanctions were unjustified. They represented "wishful thinking." They depended not upon objective evidence but upon faiths and hopes. Such are the magical practices of primitive peoples to control crops, weather, or vengeance on an enemy, or our modern efforts to "teach character" by prohibition, or to "make the world safe for democracy" by the sword and blood.

When these sanctions rest on facts they are scientific; when on mere faiths, they are magical.

Our great task in all forms of education today is to rid them of magic and to make them scientific—but like the medicine men of old, many resist vigorously the impartial evaluations of science. Certain educational leaders even today contend that it is futile to search for valid scientific criteria for educational objectives or curricula. What they advocate they base on the magic of their own special brands of philosophy.

In the course of time these approvals acquire a certain sanctity. They take on the qualities of a votem. Into these institutions people who carry them on project their personalities and identify themselves thereby. Who is an American? One who characterizes himself by the behaviors characteristic of American institutions—one who gives fealty to the American flag—the symbol or collective representation of American institutions. Thus any assault on an institution whether emotional by a reformer or scientific by a social scientist is regarded as personal. This helps to explain why so many educators resist changes, defend the classics, mathe-



matics, and other elements of a high school curriculum beyond the point of demonstrable utility.

#### WHAT IS MORALITY?

WHAT happens when a person does not conform to the mores or social institutions of his community? He is considered not "moral" and is punished—more severely than for violating customs. He is openly criticized or blamed, forced to mend his ways, fined, or thrown out of the community by exile, by imprisonment, or by execution—capital punishment. Immorality, contrary to the ordinary use of the term, does not apply only to violation of sex or marital mores but to all or any of the social institutions. A man may be immoral religiously, politically, educationally, economically, or aesthetically. Whenever he violates the mores, he is immoral. Conformity to the mores is morality. Thus it is apparent that morality is not a simple quality but is complex and relative.

#### RELATIVITY OF MORALITY

THE PRINCIPLE of the relativity of morality is derived by an analysis of culture-complexes, their geographic distribution, their development and diffusion. It is a corollary of the principle of the relativity of culture. What culture is approved by a majority power—a numerical majority as in democratic society, or a dictator who operates through coercion by army or police—is right and therefore adherence to that culture is "moral." In brief the principle is: Morality is relative to period, place, and people. What is moral or approved by the same people in the same place at one time is immoral or disapproved at another. During the same historical period what is moral to people in one place is immoral to those in another. In the same place and during the same period, what is moral to some people is not to others.

While further amplification and use of this principle will be offered subsequently, particularly in connection with character education, it is quite necessary for the student to know this principle because it is basic not only to an under-

standing of societal phenomena, to the nature of social control, but also to an appreciation of the difficulties of answering the question, "Where are we going in education?" Manifestly it will be hard to know where we want to go in education if social science and social ethics have not yet charted a clear course for societies. Education takes its rise in and derives its significance from its functions in societies. Educators can be certain of worth only to the extent that societies are certain of norms and objectives. Those who proceed religiously or philosophically will not realize this uncertainty; but the educator with the scientific mind will feel it keenly, for he will always remember the relativity of societal values to the three P's, *period, place, and people*.

## LIMITATIONS OF A PURITAN ETHIC

THE IMPORTANCE of this distinction lies in the fact that we have popular ethics that are limited, being applied to only one range of experience — the sexual. That is, people who are moral in their sex practices are all too free to perform many other types of social sins without feeling the weight ■ societal pressures. People are concerned about sins characteristic of pastoral, agricultural, or village societies and are not aware of the many new types in modern industrial, city, and world civilizations. Many of these sins are only discoverable after a careful analysis has been made of the subtle, ramified, and complicated human relations and their outcomes in politics, business, justice, education, and the like. Therefore it takes special knowledge and insight ■ see that such new sins exist. These most of the people lack for want of proper education and so they do not feel moral indignation about industrial injustice, political corruption, educational stupidity, business waste, and a host of other inadequacies.

Now when people attach the word "moral" or "immoral" to behavior that conforms or fails to conform to the sex and marital mores alone, they are so blind-spotted that they are actually shocked by the foregoing contentions. When our knowledge of children is greater and our norms of good teaching clearer it will be easier than now to distinguish educa-

tional immorality. Many a teacher with the best of intentions "paves the way to Hell" for many a pupil, as the juvenile court, probation, child guidance, and psychiatric records reveal more and more certainly.

Our ethics lag behind our aims. One of the great tasks of social science is to supply data for new ethics and of education to universalize the findings while organizing people's emotions around the new norms of behavior. Such ethics will not concern one of the mores alone but will derive from all. No matter how moral a man may be sexually he will not at the same time be considered a moral man if he violates the other institutional patterns. No longer will a church deacon be considered moral because his family life is exemplary when he pays his clerks in his store a wage so low that many must supplement their income in devious and dubious ways. As E. A. Ross suggests in *Sin and Society*, "We need to put new rings in the nooses of the new hogs."

As mores change, conceptions of sin must change and the sanctions and disapprovals must keep pace with them. Out of the retention of outworn moralities and the failure to carve out new ones come many of the personal and group conflicts that threaten the safety of present-day societies in the United States.

Will it not aid the achievement of new societal ethics to substitute a familiar morality based on social science for one based on the Puritan tradition?

#### TYPES OF IMMORALITY

THREE types of immorality are distinguished — that of the inventor who deviates constructively, that of the exploiter who deviates destructively, that of the laggard, who deviates ignorantly. Thus some deviations make for societal change and improvement, others for conflict and deterioration. "Goodness" or "badness" can be determined only by discovering the outcomes of such deviations. Education by producing inventive ability in controlling either natural or societal phenomena results in deviation. In the creation of skills inadequately linked to social purpose education enhances exploitation. And in its ill-adapted programs and

out-of-date content, education may result in the production of people who do not even understand the new expectations and the new needs expressed in the new mores. They keep alive the struggle between the old and the new "ways." Such is the struggle between science and tradition; between politics and political science; between the new law devoted to societal purposes and legal precedent.

Education for invention and leadership is thus education for immorality. Without invention, stagnation. This implies "the moral obligation to be intelligent" —ly immoral.

Most people deviate from the mores at some time or other, in some way or other. Degrees of deviation have been recognized at all times. For some deviations the community will forgive the offender; for the extreme ones that endanger its safety and existence, it never forgives—at least not so long as it operates under the Mosaic code. Jesus was necessarily crucified because he deviated too far and by the norms of his generation was immoral, in this sociological sense. So too, Socrates, Galileo, and Roger Bacon.

Constructive immoralities that are easily recognized, though at first they may be disapproved, later get general acceptance as in material inventions, or new type of tests in schools. But frequently those that depend upon high intelligence because of their more subtle and elusive characteristics are resisted for a long time—inventions in justice procedure, domestic or religious practices, education, politics and government, and science. As our education produces more and varied inventions, there is an increasing need of higher and more competent intelligence of people generally to be able to discriminate and adjudge their societal outcomes wisely. This is "the moral obligation to be intelligent," a need that exists today as never before.

#### THOUGHTS ON LAWS

IN THE course of time it has been necessary to distinguish these deviations as constructive and helpful to others or as destructive and dangerous to others. Thus dangerous ones become specified as taboos and prohibitions. At this stage in development, the institutions are legalized. They be-

come themistes, or "stateways" as Giddings calls them — that is, the institutions are now supported by two new conditions, *i.e.*, (a) prescriptions of what to do or not to do and (b) specifications of punishments for violations thereof. This is the highest and most definitely organized form of mass behavior. It is social control through legislation and operates by coercion — the application of social pressures through the organized power of the community delegated to courts and police and, by extension, army and navy. Themistes are thus generally only the more objectively specified aspects of societal institutions.

Is modern public school education customary, institutional, or themistic? When were schools and school attendance customary? When institutional? And when and how did they become themistic?

## I. NATURAL HISTORY OF MODERN PUBLIC EDUCATION

ALTHOUGH it is impossible here to write a history of education, one can by viewing the developments of certain periods secure some appreciation of the conditions and processes involved.

### PRIMITIVE EDUCATION

PRIMITIVE societies carried on education but without public schools. During the last 50,000 years man has developed culture — formed associations, hunting groups, kinship or blood groups, made tools of stone and bone and metal of which the farms and wees were continuously improved through tens of thousands of years. All this continuity of early culture in tools, group organization, and ways of living implies transmissions of it from adults to the oncoming generations. If we examine native races of recent times we can see how such transmissions very likely occurred.

Tool and weapons making, hunting, fighting, and similar mainly occupations were acquired by acculturation — picked up through imitative learning and incidental apprenticeship through the associations of boys with adults and men. Similarly so far as division of labor existed between the sexes did

girls acquire their skills and knowledges by imitation through associations with the women of the groups. Doubtless a certain amount of inculcation or instruction of a casual sort occurred in all cases. But the formal educations, organized and deliberate, were not concerned with those practical matters of getting a living. The taboos (things and practices disapproved), because they were considered harmful to group safety and unity, and the totems (approved things and ways of acting), because they were deemed essential to survival and convenience, were not left to casual learnings to the degree that they were in the case of the maintenance mores.

#### RITUALS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

THE FORMAL and organized educations were ritualistic. A boy upon reaching puberty was put through initiation rites and ceremonies designed to test his level of development. He was subjected to ridiculous and serious treatments similar to initiations in our secret societies today. They tested the emotions and abilities deemed necessary for participation in the association, or secret society, or hunting group. If an Australian boy cried out or whimpered when some teeth were knocked out — defective emotional control — he was sent back to live with the women and girls. He was not yet fit to live with men. He was given certain things to do characteristic of adult practices. If successful he was then admitted into the inner circle after periods of formal instruction in the secrets, the codes, fears, and beliefs — the totems and taboos. After that he was an adult and allowed to associate with the men.

There is thus indirect evidence that man never left to chance the learnings that at the time he deemed absolutely essential. Primitive organized education was ritualistic. How far does modern public school education possess this primitive character? Vocational or "maintenance" education was casual. How far does it still remain so?

Without laboring the point, we can say that the ritual education of primitive peoples is institutional; while their maintenance education is mainly customary. It would not

be accurate to consider these initiation ceremonies as progenitors of modern public schools, but we can appreciate how ancient is man's effort—to secure societal control through organized instruction, which remains the major purpose of our public schools today. The institution of deliberate education possesses high antiquity and a continuous history into modern times, although the agencies through which the institution has expressed itself do not reveal the same continuity. The line of evolution of our public schools as agencies of education is relatively recent.<sup>6</sup>

And yet it must be noted that until relatively recently whenever schools were found they were concerned not with "maintenance" but with control (ritual, theology, mathematics)† Consider, for example, the Talmudic schools of the Hebrews, the peripatetic schools of the Greeks, the monastic schools of theology, and the Renaissance university.

Thus our classical education has a long history and is closely linked up with religion and theology. The crisis as it was recognized from period to period was: to inculcate into youth the attitudes, beliefs, and ideas that would make them either *religious* or *reasonable*. The Talmudic and monastic schools aimed at the former; the Socratic school and the universities aimed at the latter. That battle is still raging to determine how men shall best be controlled—by belief or by knowledge. The present expression of it is in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy or the conflict of religion and science.

#### THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

SINCE the professions are so closely linked up to classical education, the formalizing of vocational instruction is to be historically found in the apprenticeship system. The crisis here as felt by the guilds or associations of master craftsmen was—how to replace the skilled artisans with competent journeymen, and by the communities—how to get expert craftsmanship to create the utilities and arts. The pickup learning of a craft by associating a youth with a master, which

<sup>6</sup> Reiser, E. H., *The Evolution of the Common School*.

† The outstanding exception may be the Spartan military schools.

was previously casual, thus became institutionalized; neither the people ■ the community nor the guilds could find any better method to produce good craftsmen. The people approved of good craftsmen, and apprenticeship was sanctioned as the best method to produce them. This general system of formal vocational education on a highly personal basis, therefore generally efficient, became thematic in the regulations ■ the guilds and the contracts involved. The industrial revolution destroyed craftsmanship and consequently the apprentice system waned. It was no longer the best method ■ getting the results. Inventors and machines then turned out the new products. The factory method displaced the home craft because new results — utility and wealth — were now displacing the old results — utility and art. Wealth being more powerful than art in its obviousness has triumphed in providing the sanctions for the factory system, now institutionalized.

But the factory system created great cities and unexpectedly complicated the vocations available by division of labor and specialization not only in industry but also in agriculture and the professions. With the apprentice system gone, the crisis today is — how to create capable persons for those vocations too skilled or complex to be acquired in the brief novitiate into the control of machines so characteristic of factory production?

But here we are running ahead of our story. Let us go back and trace briefly the rise of our common schools and see how, beginning ■ agencies of customary education, they finally became thematic.

#### LATIN SCHOOLS

THE LATIN schools of Europe before 1500 were not the ancestors of our common schools.\* They may rightly be considered the progenitors of our secondary schools, public and private. Their curriculum consisted of language — reading and writing. Under the influence of the Roman way the Latin language became the official mode of communication for the higher classes, including eventually the wealthy bour-

\* Roman, *op. cit.*, Chapter I.



geoisie or upper middle class. Latin was the language not only of the church but also of university instruction, scholarly writing, legal procedure, and of business and government. The earlier customary methods of inculcating the Latin language by means of tutors for sons of noble families were now taken over and institutionalized. For participation in the prevalent activities of the higher classes Latin was indispensable.

As cities grew into culture centers trade and the church flourished, governments enlarged by conquest and federation, the need for communication grew constantly greater. Tutors could no longer meet the need of instructing all who wanted Latin. To solve this crisis the Latin schools were developed. People of higher classes not only expected their sons to study Latin because that was the method already familiar, but school study produced the knowledge of Latin as well as the tutor system, and in addition was the best method to provide the quantities of instruction which was not possible under the tutor system. Thus the institutional sanctions were gradually evolved as experience progressed. This general analysis of the Latin schools as institutionalized education remains valid up to and including our own Latin schools in Colonial times and has been the theoretical support of the classics in our universities up to the last few decades. Manifestly it applies to classics in high and private schools so far as they are preparatory on university entrance.

#### THE VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

THE TRUE forerunners of our public schools are to be found in the vernacular schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.\* The same growth of cities that operated for the establishment of Latin schools for higher classes created a need for instruction in the means of communication for small employers and workmen who had to read business notices in the guild halls, for their own accounts, for communication with other merchants and for friendly intercourse. But these were not in Latin. The rapid rise of

\* *Reinart, op. cit., pp. 10-12.*

cities created a loss of the use of that language and a shift to the local languages in business and social relationship. The necessity of getting language was the crisis. The lower classes solved it by imitating the higher. They used the school method of instruction in the language common to them. The local language was for them the best means of securing success in their vocational and friendly intercourse and schools in the vernacular were sanctioned as the best means of providing the youth with that language. This contrast between the rôle of local and classical language still holds true in our public schools: the local language is the medium of communication in practical affairs, while the classics serve and have always served the more ritualistic aspects of life—or the tertiary moves, *i.e.*, the moves of control rather than the moves of maintenance and perpetuation.

#### PRINTING AND THE NEED FOR LITERACY IN RELIGION

ANOTHER important societal development besides the growth of cities and the flourishing of trades and commerce was the invention of movable metal type (1450) which made the printing of books cheap. The Bible and translations of classics (into the vernacular) were now available to those who could read and there developed a common practice of private reading of the Scriptures. This was customary until the Reformation, when church leaders persuaded the governments in North or Lutheran Germany to sanction the vernacular schools as the best method of getting what all considered desirable results—ability to read the Scriptures privately. This sanction is found in the official acceptance of the obligation to establish vernacular schools.\* Whereas previously such schools were confined to cities and towns, for the first time they were provided in villages for the rural folk.

The foregoing analysis is generally applicable to the establishment of schools in our own Colonial times so far

\* Württemberg 1536, "made it obligatory upon all villages to maintain German schools in which reading and writing, religion and music were to be taught." Kemmer, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

as the religious motive is connected—to read the Bible and keep the devil away.

#### CARE OF POOR CHILDREN

IN ENGLAND under the influence of the famous first of Elizabeth, the "Poor Law of 1561," which created overseers of the poor in each parish, taxed people for the care of the indigent, and compelled poor children to be apprenticed, the school-teaching technic was used by villages as a method of solving the problems thus created for them. The schools were charity schools to give a knowledge and practice of the Christian religion by mastering the catechisms.

#### CHANGING CRISIS AND CHANGING SANCTIONS

Up to the sixteenth century common schools were agencies that served the institutions of trade, commerce, and communication.

During the seventeenth century, broadly speaking, schools were technical of societal adjustments to the crisis of transmitting the religious culture complex.

But the eighteenth century saw the development of new sanctions for the institution of formal education. This was an era of great political activity in both Europe and the American colonies—an era of reason and liberalism. The great societal crisis now shifts from the economic, from the religious to the political. The problem is: how to produce citizens capable of enjoying liberty wisely and fully.

#### EXPANSION OF CIVISM

FROM 1500 to 1800 husbandmen, peasants, house servants, and laborers were without political status, nor was it then expected that they ever would vote. For such persons schools were not necessary. They learned by the apprentice method which served them quite well. But with the extension of voting privileges under the theories of democracy developed during the eighteenth century, the technic of school education, previously necessary to and used by the lower middle classes, now is applied to the lowest levels of societies. At this time liberals in Europe and in the Colonies were ad-

vocating popular education as the only just division of opportunity.

The disenfranchised are now to participate in political control and for that they must have opportunity to get fundamentals of education—therefore schools that have proved of value for higher classes should be opened for all. As Reimer so happily phrases it: "The eighteenth century rediscovered the common people." "Liberty, fraternity, equality" is the slogan that inspired a period of criticizing societal customs and the injustices of traditional institutions. The keynote of the early eighteenth century liberalism was "justice."

How to give justice to those that have lacked it, was the problem. "Education through schools," was the answer. This sanction is still found in the theory of our common schools.

#### MASS NATIONALISM

THE OUTCOME of the rational criticism in Europe was the French Revolution. Condorcet advocated that all citizens be prepared for participation in their economic and political duties. "Turgot, the great finance minister of Louis XVI, urged upon the king a system of popular education as the best means of improving the condition of the common people and of attaching them to the throne."<sup>2</sup> Nationalism, as it developed in France naturally laid hold of schools as a technique of solving its great crisis: to maintain political gains by giving all the same language and the same loyalties through teaching the history and government of France. While these purposes were not achieved, due to the reactionism of the Napoleonic era, the ideas and sanctions were at least theoretically established.

In Prussia the crisis was how to recover from the defeat of Napoleon which had revealed the weakness of the political and economic system. In the Treaty of Tilsit he allowed Prussia an army of only 42,000 men and Prussia hit upon the device of changing these each year so all would be trained and ready to fight. A great wave of patriotic devotion pre-

<sup>2</sup> Reimer, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

cipitated the sanctions of formal education through schools into laws of compulsory education. This for the first time actually raised common schools to the thematic level — fifty years before France and England and seventy-five years before the United States did so.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

TOWARD the close of the eighteenth century the industrial revolution resulted in accentuating attention directed to the children of the factory workers. These neglected children became a menace, and thoughtful persons, exemplified by Robert Owen, were concerned as to how they might properly be cared for. Education made them more God-fearing, more respectful of authority, and less liable to criminal courses of conduct — all results readily and heartily approved by the responsible elements of the community. As formal education again was considered the best method of getting these results, education was deemed desirable for them.

Up to the time of the Revolution, societal tendencies in the Colonies generally resembled those in Europe with the exception that in America the reactionism of the Napoleonic era was offset by free land in a pioneer environment. So the free-schools technic prevailed. But the sanctions were developed for each recognized crisis. Probably the chief influence in the early Colonial times favoring the use of schools as best technic for solving societal crises that grew out of inadequate transmission of culture to the young came through the English Puritans via New England. The reader will recall that as early as 1647 Massachusetts Bay Colony had a law requiring every town of fifty families to have an elementary school so that poor children who could not go to private schools could learn to read and write.

The basic aspects of common schools as they were developed subsequent to the American Revolution are to be found in the movements, crises, and sanctions of the eighteenth century: (a) liberalism and a demand for justice for all; (b) mass nationalism and a demand for patriotic political participation for all; (c) the industrial revolu-

tion with a demand for salvaging the children of factory workers.

But through these threads that were woven into the pattern of early American common school education there ran another, readily distinguishable in any part of the design — the religious. Gradually for each type of societal crisis there emerged the decision that formal education was the best solution. Would we have Bible readers? Then educate. Would we be free from criminals? Then educate. Would we have patriotic citizens? Then educate. Education in the free schools was a technic fairly well developed and thoroughly rationalized as the best method of reaching the young, so far as controlling them was concerned. But even at that time vocations, excepting the professions, were learned casually. Formal, organized instruction was still ritualistic.

#### THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC

It is readily seen from the foregoing account that the general pattern of education was so far evolved as to reach the highest stage of control — thematic — before the successful rebellion of the colonies from England. But the use of it in America was sporadic and local.

Two great problems of societal crises in America emerged from the early years in the establishment of the new government: (1) how to use and perfect schools as agencies of the institution of education — this led to consideration of teacher training; and (2) how to provide schools for all without creating class distinctions — this led to questions of financial support and the school tax.

#### THE SEARCH FOR CRIME-SOLUTIONS

Educated people and leaders were already conscious of the need of school education but it was only after the Revolution that they seriously faced the need of schooling for all children. The American Philosophical Society under the influence of Benjamin Franklin offered a prize "for the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States, com-

prehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility." \*

This shows that the great crisis, of which the above problems were details, was—How to make permanent the gains of the Revolution by competent citizenship in the American government. The leaders were agreed as to the results of organized education in literacy and civic activity—that sanction hardly needed to be argued. But there was no consensus that schools as they knew them were the best methods of getting these approved results. Various leaders suggested "plans" for public education to provide a sanction of a best method. Thomas Jefferson defined the crisis as "support of democratic government" and the solution as a "state school system." †

#### SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENTS

BUT THE people commonly were not convinced by their leaders that public schools for all offered the best solution of the crisis. It remained for the societal movements of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century to make concrete the meanings of democratic participation in government. For the workers this did not exist at first. The franchise was based upon aristocratic notions and property distinctions. Such societal movements were school societies, infant schools, monitorial schools, secular Sunday schools, development of transportation and communication, growth of cities, use of factories, beginnings of a labour movement with a protest against pauper schools, social reforms, westward migration, and new conceptions of democracy as represented by Andrew Jackson. ‡

#### NEW LEADERSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

MEANWHILE a new crop of leaders arose. By publicity and propaganda in the form of educational journals, reports of practices in Europe, conventions and surveys, they gave clarity and precision to the definition of the crisis or need of

\* Knight, E. W., *Education in the United States*, New York 1900, p. 146.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

public schools and to the reasons why no other methods would do so well.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE CRISIS IN SCHOOL SUPPORT

THE REAL CRISIS of the problem was whether or not these schools should be free for all and supported by taxation. It took a long hard fight to establish the school tax. Almost all other methods were used and discarded † They ranged from tuition fees and rate balls to lotteries, graft, and penalties. Out of this experience local taxation gradually emerged as the best method of providing schools for all. At first legislation was permissive and strenuously objected to as that, but by 1880 it had become mandatory in practically all but the slave-holding states of the Union.

#### THE CRISIS IN TEACHER TRAINING

IN THE establishment of state control of public schools and in the professional training of teachers one finds social processes similar to those involved in accepting the school-keeping technic of education, or compulsory attendance, or support by taxation, local and state.

#### A CASE ILLUSTRATION

A LEADER, Samuel R. Hall, through superior knowledge and insight recognizes a social crisis — the need for better teachers. He invents a solution by opening a training school in Vermont, 1803, and by publishing the first text on education, *Lectures on School-keeping* ‡ Others then imitate him, until by 1870 the practice becomes quite common. Heretofore it has been generally customary — the materials being uncriticized and the methods of instruction traditional and in support of the ancient pedagogy. After 1870 with the introduction of the ideas of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel (other inventors) there forms a new crisis — a sense of the inadequacy of teacher training. Then follows a period

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235 ff.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.

‡ While he expounds suggestions from existing schools in Europe, his effect can be considered a definite stimulus of innovation. All innovation without suggestions of existent solution has little stimulating force.



of discussion and criticism of methods with experimental improvements until a general consensus of sanction of pedagogy as a subject of study is reached by 1900. This is shown by its admission into colleges and universities. By this time teacher-training is institutionalized. Finally it reaches a thematic development in the state laws of certification of teachers which requires professional training.

A crisis; an invention by a leader; imitation by others, thus forming a custom; a new crisis; discussion by leaders criticizing and evaluating until sanctions are agreed upon, thus creating an institution; introduction of these practices, and sanctions into legislative assemblies to be incorporated into statute laws thus making the practices thematic — such is the natural history of the major phases of our education culture-complex.

#### THE INSTITUTION OF EDUCATION AS A BEHAVIOR PATTERN

AT THE present time if a child needs care and instruction a family may solve the problem by utilizing a ready-made solution, i.e., the nursery school — still customary. At five or six his educational needs are met by public schools where there are teachers who, with professional training, apply technical stereotyped solutions of the problems the child has in learning the fixed subject matter — now thematic. Would the child's education be carried on beyond the elementary school? He goes to high school, then to college and university — the latter at present still institutional. But at every step, in the class he attends, in the books he reads, in the problems he studies, in the examinations he takes, and the rewards and degrees he receives, the major part of experience is predetermined by the organized aspects of the institution of education. Now and again he may make some choices of alternate possibilities as in the elective courses, but not far does his freedom extend. Let him wander too far and he is sent to the principal, coerced by the truant officer, scolded by the visiting teacher, suspended from college, or not granted his degree. Conformity to the commonly approved practices is the only concrete method of attaining the social status of "an educated person" — a college graduate.

AN INDUCTIVE WORK

Is *EDUCATION* a social institution? The title of this chapter has been answered first theoretically and then historically. Public education is an institution because it is a mass of collective behaviors whose results in literacy, knowledge, civic and vocational competency have been sanctioned generally and because these school-keeping practices are considered by tax-payers as the best means of getting these approved results. But public school education is more than one of the mores. It is one of the *themata*, for laws prescribe the manner and the period of attendance and the punishments for failure to obey these prescriptions.

The student may well note in passing that while sociology studies, among other societal phenomena, all types of social institutions, educational sociology investigates only education as a social institution. It studies other institutions but principally in their educative aspects in order to determine what part of the total task of education is performed by them and what remains for the schools to achieve.

MAIN PARTS IN EDUCATION

If a social institution is a body of collective activities or mass habits, what are they for the institution of public education? Wherever schools are kept in the United States one finds a general pattern of activities like the following, which may readily be revealed by an activity-analysis of any school system:

- I. Policy-makers, executives, and teachers determine general and specific objectives for school or system — town, county, or state
- II. Officials administer the school or system
- III. Supervisors guide and correct teachers
- IV. Teachers instruct and guide pupils
- V. Pupils learn assigned materials or perform projects
- VI. Executants and teachers discipline pupils for failure to learn or for violations of rules

VII. Pupils, usually under supervision, carry on extra-curricular activities

VIII. Executants and teachers relate by various means the school to the community

True, not every school carries on all of these types of activities. In many rural schools of the one- or two-teacher kind Type VII, extra-curricular activities, may be almost or wholly lacking. But in progressive and modernized country schools of this kind one may find a well-organized program of such activities. In many city schools Type VIII may be lacking, and yet others have a broad program of social activities and make the school a real community center. The foregoing may then be considered as the average run of activities for the nation as a whole and will constitute a practical division of the whole range of activities into more specific fields for discussion and analysis.

Throughout the study of educational sociology, the student may well distinguish his own aims: (a) by selecting the field of specialized technical interest and addressing his efforts toward as much sociological mastery as possible and by (b) studying the sociological aspects of the other fields to secure such appreciations as will help him better to orient his own work in the total institution of education and its community.

Furthermore, the student should note that any of these type-activities may be subdivided by further analysis into as much detail as time and effort warrant. Such practice will have value for a number of reasons: first, it will aid in understanding just what activities are characteristic of policy makers, administrators, supervisors, teachers, pupils in class and out for whatever type of school subject or of community for which the student may be preparing. Second, it will greatly facilitate the specification of the societal phenomena to be investigated and thus, third, enable the student to think concretely by starting from facts rather than theories; fourth, the activity-analysis approach will make it much easier to define both practical and research problems that peculiarly characterize each field of educational activity; and finally, it

## IS EDUCATION A SOCIAL INSTITUTION? ■

will give him training in job- and activity-analysis that will enhance the efficiency of his teaching.

### READINGS

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Hayes, E. C., *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Ch. 20 (The Analysis and Classification of Social Activities). Gives an appreciation of "social data." Chs. 21-22 (Modes of Variation in Social Activities). Further analysis of customs and institutions.

Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, pp. 1-118. The classical introduction to this subject.

Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution*. Carries forward the work of Sumner in simplified analysis. The chapter on "Rational Selection" is pertinent to education.

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Judd, C. H., *The Psychology of Institutions*. A poor title for a book that uses material from primitive societies to show that behavior is determined by institutional patterns. One can do the same by using data from present time. Shows the importance of the history of institutions in understanding human behavior. It adds nothing in the field of sociology to Wundt, Tylor, Spencer, Ward, Ross, or the institutional psychologists Kantor, Allport, Kuo. To be really helpful he should pay less attention to stages in evolution and origins and more to present discoverable effects.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What advantages for educational policy do you see in the distinction between "institutions" and "agencies"?
2. What sanctions of our public educational institutions (not agencies—schools) do you regard as magic?
3. What types of school activities do you know them—select the level and the situation you know most about—represent customs, institutions, laws?

4. What educational implications can you derive from the Law of  $\frac{1}{2}$  P Relativity when applied to course objectives in X subject? Contents in X subject? Methods in X subject? The handling of a problem pupil?

5. What objections do you "feel" (not "think") against the meanings of "morality" and "immorality" in this chapter?

6. What societal crises exist today that demand new adjustments in educational theory and practice?

7. Can you cite a crisis which is itself a product of education unadapted to societal characteristics? (Examples - unemployment and vocational education.)

8. Are public schools necessary to maintain a democratic government? Why cannot the same ends of society be achieved by police and propaganda?

### EXERCISES

1. Make a list of institutions and agencies in (a) your home community; (b) the same for your present school community. Have you any explanations for the differences you find?

2. Trace "testing" from its invention to its present status to show the evolution of a "exam habit."

3. Select any one item of the General Activity Analysis of public school education on pp. 43-44 and break it up into a detailed activity analysis.

## CHAPTER III

### WHAT OTHER INSTITUTIONS EDUCATE?

#### 1. INSTITUTIONS

##### TYPE AND FUNCTIONS OF SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS

**S**INCE INSTITUTIONS are organized and approved ways of doing things, it follows that certain societal functions are performed by each and every one. "Functions" rather than "function" because while each may have a major outcome it also serves other purposes and ends as well. On the basis of major functions it is possible to classify institutions as follows:

##### 3. Tertiary mores

- f. Mores of amelioration (social work, social reform, town or regional planning, public health work, etc.)
- g. Mores of gratification (recreation and esthetics)
- d. Mores of regulation (control—police, government, justice, ethics, religion, education, war, magic, science)

##### 2. Secondary mores

- c. Mores of communication (language, movies, radio, press, literature, etc.)

##### 1. Primary mores

- b. Mores of perpetuation (marriage and family)
- a. Mores of maintenance (economic—industry, commerce, property, transportation, etc.)

The "primary mores" are those that provide biological survival and racial continuity directly. The others function somewhat in the same ways but indirectly.

The "secondary mores" are those that are basic to societal survival and thus serve all the other institutions. Without developed communication there would be no human societies.

The "tertiary mores" are all the others. In the course of human history they have become differentiated from the primary and secondary ones and function for direct and indirect societal controls which lead to a more satisfactory life (as defined by the powerful ones of each generation).

#### NOTES ON THE CLASSIFICATION

THE ARRANGEMENT signifies an increasing importance. People first get food, clothing, shelter enough to live. Then they have offspring which provides racial continuity. They develop language for association. The offspring as well as others (men and gods) have to be controlled and regulated to avoid societal chaos and destruction. Only when these needs are met can there be leisure for play — physical, social, or aesthetic. Finally to improve all of these activities, there are approved and organized ways of changing them.

In point of time the mores of gratification are modern; for a million years or so men got along very well (relatively to biological survival) without much of "e" and "f" and a little of "d" but never without "a" and "b" and "c." And yet the student should realize that primitive societies reveal evidences of some or all the mores except the "f" type. The presence of art expression on many of the artifacts of Cro-Magnon man indicate the certain existence of mores of gratification and by implication, also mores of societal control. These mores, therefore, possess a great antiquity though at first their forms were very elementary in the primitive blood-group.\*

The student should also realize that at first these institutions were not so distinguishable as they are today. Their differentiations as we now know them have been the result through societal evolution of increase of population, division of labor, specializations, and increase in organization.

\* See or keep handy.

## INSTITUTIONS AS MEANS OF SOCIETAL CONTROL

WE CAN SEE NOW by examining modern as well as primitive societies, that though all of these different types achieved certain major societal results—to maintain life, to reproduce life, to talk to people, to control people, to have fun and to improve ways of living—they all functioned for societal control and an enhanced maintenance. We have already noted in Chapter II that institutions are behavior patterns. Customs, institutions, laws, agencies, organizations, ceremonies, rituals—all in fact are precipitates of past experiences in solving human problems. They are stereotyped definitions of human situations. They contain suggestions as to how to behave (customs) or how not to behave (taboos). Through communication these inventions and behaviors are accumulated from generation to generation and prescribe our behaviors for us. Some operate through unconscious suggestions as in customs or long-established institutions that have acquired the unconscious character of customs because the sanctions lie dormant for lack of doubt and criticism; others, like new changes in institutions or challenged sanctions, operate through conscious suggestions but not coercively; still others, the chemists, operate by both conscious suggestions (non-coercion) and by deliberate direct pressure in organized coercion. Thus to get an income a man may steal and pillage (taboo) or he may accept the totenized modes represented by the approved vocations from agriculture to politics. If he would have offspring, society tells him how. If he accepts these institutionalized definitions of how to have offspring—marriage by priest or magistrate—he achieves his purpose and maintains or enhances his social status. Thus for a growing child there are ways to do everything—ready-made and to hand. He only needs to know what these ways are, what they can do for him, and when to use them. By surrounding him with this mass of group habits, attitudes, and ideas direct or indirect suggestion or deliberate physical coercion (police) controls his behavior.

Societies by discovering what is best for survival and by



preserving that best through communication from adults to children enhance their maintenance both biological and societal. Institutions are thus organized techniques of societal control for safety, continuity, and improvement.

#### INTERDEPENDENCE OF INSTITUTIONS

SINCE, as indicated above, all institutions have major and minor functions, there is a genuine interdependence among them. Consider the domestic institutions, a rural family, for example. It not only perpetuates the race through having children, but it is also an economic group providing for biological survival of its members. It carries on communication in the family folklore and tradition. It disciplines its members for safety to all and encourages an orderly way of carrying on the family activities. It transmits its knowledge, attitudes, and ideas directly and indirectly, by imitation and instruction, and thus educates its young to follow the family "successful ways." It provides play among the children and strives for their improvement by increasing, through the family economy, opportunity for more adequate living than the parents possess. Thus it not only produces children, its major function, but in minor ways contributes to the functions of other institutions, through its agency—the home. Or a simpler instance:

Free school dances may lead just to fun (gratification), or to mating (perpetuation), or to keeping young people under supervision (regulation). Well supervised commercialized dancing would function not only in these ways but for economic maintenance as well. They are thus all functionally interrelated. You cannot distinguish the outcomes of the activities of one institution without becoming involved in the functions of others.

Now if the foregoing comments possess any validity, certain inductions of educational significance can be formulated.

1. The study of sources and their functions is basic to an understanding of community life.

2. Such study cannot involve one type to the exclusion of others. The finest expert specialization in one type depends upon at least an appreciational knowledge of the others be-

cause of the functional interrelationship. For example, there must be people and leisure and things wherewith to play in order to carry on the mores of gratification. Educators need an appreciational knowledge of other institutions as well as an expert knowledge of play education.

3. Efforts in effect improvements in one should integrate with efforts to better others. Administrators should be represented in politics and in councils of social agencies.

#### INSTITUTIONAL MALADJUSTMENT

Another important consideration is that the stability of the maintenance mores is low, but that of secondary mores is high. Changes in technology or the economic phases of life are relatively overt, rationally selected, and rapid. Changes in ethics, education, justice, and government, or the secondary mores, tend to be slow. Maintenance variations disturb previous adjustments in the other institutions, but modifications of the latter may occur without relation to primary mores. In our material culture we have changed rapidly until our factories and our cities remind us little of domestic industry previous to the Industrial Revolution. Whereas then business and industry were owned by families and regarded as personal enterprises, today there are great corporations run by men who have the old private ownership attitudes toward labor. Adjustments in machines have changed rapidly. Attitudes of social justice and of property ownership have changed relatively little. Out of this maladjustment between improved technology and unimproved human relations comes much of our industrial and social conflict.

Inventions in technology occur with little limitation. They increasingly disturb the equilibrium among the secondary institutions and make for maladjustments. Thus the invention of the motor car has affected other institutions. These disturbances are represented by social problems—rapid growth of cities and traffic congestion, sex immorality incident to parking and "petting," increase of law violators—few car owners who have not at some time or other run afoul of the laws—disintegration of the fam-

ily, increase of impersonal contacts and the breakdown of neighborhoods, picnicking, motoring with problems of rural advertising and vandalism, banditry, rum-running, and new forms of crime possible because of a quick "get-away," lessened church attendance, road houses, and the like. It is a motor-car age, and yet it is apparent that our laws and other methods of control have not kept pace with our technical advance. Many of the secondary mores have not adjusted themselves to motor cars. Witness any up-to-date car capable of going safely at forty miles an hour compelled to crawl through a village in obedience to a local ordinance, passed two decades ago: "Speed Limit—Ten Miles An Hour." What is safety at one time is danger at another. Our laws lag behind our factories.

In education we see this same lagging of the human elements behind the material. ■ is relatively easy to build fine school buildings but hard to bring the curriculum or methods up-to-date in many communities. We have good laboratories and good courses in the natural sciences and engineering but development in the social science studies is very slow. Our societal life is full of such maladjustments because we cannot keep our homes, churches, schools, playgrounds, courts, laws adjusted to the rapid technological inventions with their consequent social effects. Blue laws, evolution laws, inhuman prisons, the jury system, vengeful punishment for criminals, inadequate wages in industry, condemnation of divorce, beliefs in pre-Christian theology are a few other illustrations—maladjustments between scientific knowledge and accepted practice.

## 2. EDUCATION AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

### TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE

IN THE normal course of events the oldsters of every community die off and are replaced by youngsters. In order to conserve the gains already made in these institutionalized methods of adjustment to the natural world and to other people, the oldsters must see to it before they disappear that the youngsters assimilate the institutions of the community.

Through the biological overlapping of generations the physical basis of such transmission is provided. Thus we may say that there are not only the major and minor functions (see p. 47) but also a third type revealed in every institution, namely, the transmission to new participants — young ones born into the situation, or old ones as immigrants — of the dominant ways, the terms and taboos, the attitudes and values characteristic of that institution.

#### MOTIVES FOR CULTURE TRANSMISSION

THE MOTIVES that lie back of the care that oldsters take to see to it that youngsters assimilate their ways and ideals are complicated and vary from the naive ones of primitive folk to the highly sophisticated justifications of modern educational philosophy. But the dominant realistic motives for ancient and modern man are adult self-preservation primarily and child nurture secondarily. Without such transmission the youngsters would wreck the institutions and make life both difficult and unbearable for the oldsters, and without some acquisition of the social heritage each generation would have to spend its energy recapturing former gains with little possibility of advance. But every new generation deviates inevitably because all of them fail of complete assimilation and because some of them achieve inventions.

As time passes culture increases in content and complexity. It thus becomes increasingly impossible for new generations to master the growing culture completely. Division of labor, specialization, and organization increase, which further complicates the culture. People tend to know more and more about less and less. Consequently specialization begets the ignorance of others and guardians of societal continuity wail, "What aile our youth?" On the other hand, enrichment of culture accentuates inventions. Therefore the young will in all sorts of particular ways increasingly deviate and the old will continue to resent the inconveniences created thereby and fear the innovations.

The best that oldsters have done or the best they ever can do is to limit these tendencies. With what success depends upon the adequacy of their methods. At present there is

little agreement on either the results or methods. The radicals say the methods are too effective and get results of uniformity, regimentation, and lack of initiative; the moralists cry, "The world is going to the dogs!" or "Civilization faces an impasse!"; while the philosophers act as servants to both. Only the patient accumulation of scientific knowledge in the social sciences can save us from both by providing each generation with the tools to carve out its own peculiar destiny. This is more easily said than done but teachers may well possess a balanced judgment in a world of changing ethical values—an appreciation of tradition but also of innovation. Else they too will be but "blind leading the blind."

#### ACCULTURATIONS AND INCULCATIONS

ALL THE methods whereby culture is transmitted to the young are education. It takes two forms: acculturations and inculturations. Acculturations are self-educations, learnings through imitations, pick-up learnings or the spontaneous learnings concomitant to the participations in institutional agencies. Inculturations, on the other hand, are the results of deliberate instructions by others, parents, relatives, playmates, teachers, bosses, policemen, propagandists and the like. The former may be thought of as "natural" learnings; the latter as "artificial," the results of situations created deliberately by others, i.e., manipulations.

Now it must not be supposed that acculturations occur only out of schools and inculturations only within. Both types of acquiring culture occur any and everywhere, in and out of schools, from birth until death. The term "education" if not qualified is thus descriptive of life itself and signifies that part of the total life experiences which is devoted to the acquisition of the skills and meanings of all kinds of adjustments that are characteristic of human behavior or human societies.

#### "THE GREAT SCHOOL."

NOW EACH and every agency of any institution besides its major function achieves some education, both accultura-

tions and inculcations. But just as inculcation is necessary when acculturation proves insufficient, so the educations of these agencies have had to be supplemented by inculcations through a specialized agency, the school. With the growth of culture and the differentiation and complication of institutions and agencies the tasks of the agencies have become too great to take adequate care of the needed educations of the young. Therefore communities have developed a special agency and committed to it the unfinished educations concomitant to normal institutional participations. Thus the church in its normal activities could not secure sufficient educations, so it developed a specialized agency, the Sunday school. As seen in the previous chapter, other institutions combined in the support and use of public schools.

The total learnings through the participations of people in the non-school agencies, factories, homes, playgrounds, movies, press, offices, churches and the like, have been called education in the "Great School," meaning by that the learnings achieved through life in the "Great Society." By contrast, then, we may speak of the others as education in the "Little School," the public schools. This distinction is not merely a theoretical one, for, as we shall see later, it is basic to the development of methods for determining school objectives and school curricula. How shall we know what to teach in "The Little School" until we know the amounts and effects of what is taught and what is learned in the "Great School"? With no such distinctions, may we not duplicate wastefully or fail to supplement economically? That failure results in defective acquisition of the social heritage and culture is lost, on the one hand, and not developed through invention, on the other. For, let us not forget that the great task of all educations is the transmission and improvement of culture for personal and societal efficiencies.

#### **WHAT IS CULTURE?**

THE STUDENT finds himself at a loss to understand the meaning of the term "culture" because educational theory is full of confusion. The "cultured man," "cultural education,"

"cultural aims" are phrases used frequently and sharply contrasted with other concepts such as "vocational education," "civic education," "character education," and the like. Such expressed and implied concepts of culture are false and misleading, for the latter types of education are just as much "cultural" education as what is meant by the former terms.

#### A DEFINITION OF CULTURE

CULTURE is human invention. Whatever is made by man is culture. It may be "material," such as bows and arrows or airplanes, electric light, or pencils, or "immaterial," such as ideas, ideals, ways, meanings, and interpretations. The latter are as much a part of culture as the former. The general concept includes both. Institutions, agencies, organizations, rituals, ceremonies are just as much parts of the total culture of man as his tangible tools. The beliefs and creeds of a religious group are just as much a part of their culture as the church building, the Bible, candles, vestments, and other paraphernalia and vice versa.

#### "A CULTURED MAN"

Who is a cultured man? The average educator, ignorant of ethnology, anthropology, and cultural sociology, will answer, "He who practices the amenities of life; who is familiar with the classics and literatures of the world; who has charm and can move with ease among the refined and élite of the world." To produce him he has advocated "cultural education" in our liberal arts colleges. How we have been led astray! For such colleges are neither "liberal" nor "arts" and the curricula are dusty. Such colleges produce snobs because their definition of "culture" is purely "snobbish" and unscientific.

Why should we pick out a part of culture and identify that with the whole? Who is the cultured man? The Greek professor who cannot keep his Ford car running because he knows nothing about a carburetor or the man who knows no word of Greek but can run his car until it almost falls apart? According to the common definition, the former;

## WHAT OTHER INSTITUTIONS EDUCATE? 59

but according to the scientific one, the latter, for in the American scene today more people actually use and manipulate carburetors than conjugate Greek verbs or read Greek classics in the original. The fact is, Greek and Latin were the normal languages for history, literature, science, philosophy, and law during the Renaissance and therefore belonged in the university curriculum as true parts of a cultural education and reflected dominant concerns of life in former ages. Furthermore they shall have a place in the university curriculum that aims to present to advanced students a cross-section of the world-culture. But let us not confuse such specialized aspects of culture with that which characterizes a modern community or a nation.

### RELATIVITY OF CULTURE

CULTURAL education will then concern itself with a different set of problems if it will not disappear entirely as such. For the fact is all forms of education are cultural. Here again we are involved in the principle of relativity. Since culture is a set of tools for human adjustment its value is relative to the person, place, or period. Educational practice must differentiate the words of types of culture for types of people in types of places at one or another specified time. What is significantly educative for one is not so for another. Some so-called cultural education that is functional or useful for one may not be for another. One man may be trained in handling gas-engines; another, Greek verbs; but let us not consider the latter cultured therefore, and the former not. The actual use per unit of population times experience-moments would give an index of worth far greater for the community in the case of gas-engines than in the case of Greek verbs. Yet the university must make it possible for any man to get expert knowledge and skill about Greek verbs or gas-engines, if he wants it. The fallacy appears when what may be useful for some is assumed to be equally important for all or for the many and is therefore put too low down in the curriculum of our public schools. Use is a matter of fact not theory, to be determined by investigation and not by *a priori* logic. Enough of this for the present.



We will revert to this problem in Volume II under "Objectives."

Meanwhile, since culture is the burden of education, let us analyze it further in its nature and processes, in pursuit of the answers to our query, "What other institutions educate?"

#### CULTURE TRAITS AND COMPLEXES

A single item of culture is a culture trait. A combination of traits forms a culture complex. That is, not just any traits taken together as needles, chair-splinters, chalk and the like. But rather traits that possess a functional interdependence. Thus needles, thread, buttons, coats would form a tailoring culture complex. Desk, chalk, blackboard, record-book, text-book, pencils, notebooks, mathematical symbols, logic and the stereotyped language of mathematics, and teaching methods would form an arithmetic-teaching culture complex. Even this would be a part of a larger education culture complex. This plus all the other culture complexes would make up the total culture of a community or a nation.

In any community there is a wide variety of complexes. Language complexes, motor-car complexes, power-machine complexes, worship complexes, and so on indefinitely. A school system is a culture complex. Each part has a functional or organic relation to every other. Lacking any the total culture complex could not function. Thus any range of activities with the concomitant tools, attitudes, and purposes would be a sub-culture complex. (See General Activity Analysis, pp. 43-44.) To get pupils we have laws; to teach them, teachers; for teachers, normal schools, institutes, educational literature—books and journals, texts, grades, graduations; administrators and assistants with their files, their research bureaus, their political activities, taxes and their collections, and the like. All these taken together make up an education culture complex.

#### CULTURE AREAS

As traits are invented they are used by others and so distribute themselves geographically. Thus the miner's safety

lamp is found only in the coal-mining culture complex in the coal areas of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, for example. These areas of distinctive traits and complexes may be delimited as culture areas. Characterized by their predominant or fundamental aspects they may readily be distinguished. Thus lower Michigan is a motor-car-production culture area; Wall Street, a finance culture area; the plains, a wheat culture area; the Gulf States, a cotton culture area. Each of these areas will reveal distinct societal characteristics; with distinguishing words commonly used; typical ways and attitudes, rhythms and tempos of life, distinct resources and shortages not found elsewhere.

Factors of soil and climate, the presence of cheap labor, and the world's demand for a cheap fabric have peculiarly conditioned social life in the American South to the demands of the cotton plant. The routines of southern rural life are fixed to the cycles of cotton planting, chopping, picking, and marketing. One may speak of a cotton-culture complex. Food habits (meal, meal and molasses), family labor in the field, speculation, exclusive devotion, the one crop system, non-co-operation, and lack of thrift are attitudes and modes of behavior growing out of cotton culture.\*

There will be common homogeneous culture traits with other areas but there will also be unique aspects. Even a town of no great size will reveal distinctive culture areas. Such phrases as "downtown," "over-the-tracks," "shantytown," "gold coast," "Little Italy," "the Great White Way," all denote in everyday speech distinctive culture areas. Most rural regions have their culture areas: "coral skirts," "dairy section," "corn belt," "cotton belt," "orange groves," and the like. In a metropolitan region one finds: the suburbs or "dormitory area" sometimes called the "matriarchal area," "the baby-carriage area" (uptown apartments), "single-residence area," "apartment-house area," "hotel area," "theater district," "factory area," "financial area," "Bowery," "wharf area," and many more. ■ the world as a whole can be distinguished: Euroamerican culture area,

\* Vance, R. B., "Cotton Culture and Social Life and Institutions of the South," *Publishers of the American Sociological Society* 1929, p. 31.

Pacific-Island culture area, Oriental culture area, African-jungle culture area, and so on.

In spite of all these diversities, one can find, according to C. Wissler in his *Manners and Culture*, a universal culture pattern. Its main complexes are speech, material traits, art, mythology and scientific knowledge, religious practices, family and social systems, property, government, and war (p. 74).

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE

ALL CULTURE begins through inventions. These are imitated by others and are thus socialized throughout the group, community, region, nation, or world. Some traits and complexes are highly local such as the boomerang of Australian Bushmen, others are spread universally, such as the Swastika of primitive culture or motor-cars or English language of modern culture. This socialization of culture accentuates inventions because the abilities of many people are brought to play upon past achievements for improvements. Each generation builds upon the social heritage of culture, provided the transmission of the culture among the members of a generation (lateral diffusion) and from one generation to another (vertical diffusion) is maintained. Because of this direct transmission through speech and written record, culture is cumulative.

A comparison of the stone tools of late Neanderthal man (30,000 to 100,000 years ago) with the principal tools of today, reveals the fact that the essential principles of the saw, hammer, scraper, borer and the like were discovered early and that since then man has succeeded only in refining them — the interests of increased efficiency. Positive evidences of controlled use of fire date as early as 75,000 to 100,000 years ago, probably the greatest single achievement for man's cultural advance.\*

The curve of culture in man's social evolution would thus rise very slowly at first in the prehistoric ages but later, mounting steadily, would turn upward sharply toward modern times. Consider the great number and variety of inven-

\* Osburn, H. F., *Man of the Old Stone Age and Man's Rise to Progress*.

tions once certain fundamental methods are achieved: Marconi and radio; the Wright brothers and flying; the internal combustion engine and automobiles; the movies, talkies, and now television. And the end is not yet. If great changes in life occur as a result of continued inventions of such far-reaching importance, how can youth be educated in preparation for all their needs twenty or twenty-five years hence? Some needs we are now preparing them for may not exist at that time; and many new ones which we do not yet foresee will arise. What is the answer to such a problem?

#### CULTURE DIFFUSION

CULTURE is expansive. It spreads naturally through contacts established by migrations, war, and trade, and deliberately through the organized diffusion of missionary activity, schools, and propaganda. But the mode of diffusion is not always uniform. Whether natural or deliberate the diffusion may transfer traits either as units or as complexes, though the general tendency of organized diffusion is rather to transmit complexes. Recall the importation into Japan in modern times of the steam-engine railway complex and the war complex from the Euramerican culture area. The whole technic was taken over even to the methods of financing in the former instance and the diplomacy in the latter. Natural diffusion, though not always necessarily so, tends to be incidental, sporadic, spontaneous, and highly selective of traits that appeal most.

#### CULTURE LAG

THE TRAITS that appeal most are the material. Consequently whether the diffusion is organized or natural — by acculturation or inculcation — the transmission of the material phases of culture is effected more readily than that of the ideological aspects. The child of the immigrant family will take on rapidly the clothes, the speech, the manners of Americans, but will not so quickly learn the subtle meanings and uses of them which characterize the native. Thus the spiritual culture lags behind the material. This is true for vertical as well as lateral transmission and explains many maladjust-

ments not only of immigrants but also of native children. They copy the overt ways of others but use them in wrong situations. Then they are judged delinquent and immoral. This culture lag is a broader phase of what we described above as institutional maladjustment, so that what was said there equally applies here.

#### SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY CULTURE

THE TASK of public school education is then to select those elements of the culture of a community or culture area which (a) are not successfully transmitted by the agencies themselves and which (b) being transmitted are productive of undesirable societal outcomes and therefore need correction and improvement. Schools are supplementary agencies to guarantee a community against the losses of mere acculturation or natural diffusion. But schools are also corrective agencies to the extent that they address themselves to the task of taking up culture lag or removing institutional maladjustment. Sometimes agencies will desire such services from the schools. Witness the support by big business of natural science and engineering research. But note that generally this too has to do with material culture. Whereas when schools correct agencies in matters of human relations or human values—spiritual culture or the meanings and worths of experiences—the societal agencies resist strenuously. Witness the discharging of college professors for teaching radical economics, for criticizing powerful politicians, or for challenging traditional religious beliefs on the basis of biological or social sciences.

Just how to select what elements of culture to achieve the foregoing results is a technical matter. Here it is necessary for the student to see the problems in their broad outlines for appreciation only.

#### THE EDUCATOR AS PRIEST

SOCIETIES in their efforts to secure continuity of culture, order, and stability of life, have carried on educations through the normal participations of children and youths in the institutional agencies. In this way the leaders or experts of

the agencies, knowing what aspects of culture are most significant for them, can guarantee to new participants the knowledges, skills, attitudes, and loyalties that make for optimum adjustments. But this task has grown beyond the leaders because of complications of cultural advance through societal evolution. What they are unable to achieve they have developed a special agency, the public school, to do for them. Thus a school teacher as representative of these other agencies is expected to supplement the learnings in the "Great School," prevent dangerous deviations and contribute to the order and stability essential to the normal workings of a community. He is thus a priest whose business it is to carry on the regular routines of community life, a societal policeman to maintain order, a traffic cop for growing children to see to it that they learn the established and approved ways and to recognize the signs that mean "Stop" and "Go"!

#### THE EDUCATOR AS PROPHET

BUT IMPORTANT as continuity, order, and stability are to communities people must make room for changeful adjustments, for improvements, for corrections and refinements, in short, for inventions. As we have already seen, institutional maladjustment and culture lags occur whether we like them or not. Unless communities deliberately strive to improve these conditions, they become worse until the stresses and strains are too great and people break out in riots and rebellions. Revolution is the substitute for evolution. Zeal for order and stability must not preclude innovations, changes, and readjustments or reforms. Changes are not inconsistent with societal order unless intolerances blind people to the need of improvement.

Educators simply because they represent the whole community and not merely a part, all agencies not one, must therefore sensitize growing children first to the need of certain changes that have been scientifically revealed and secondly must provide both the skills and the determinations to effect such changes. It will not be enough that the oncoming generation know what should be done (intellectual education) but their emotions must be organized to favor and

strive for such changes (emotional education). In this sense the educator is a prophet — sometimes crying in the wilderness, sometimes in the market places; sometimes vilified, sometimes even martyred. But if he fails in this who shall perform the task? Certainly not the leaders of this or that institutional agency, for they have their own wars to sell. Their sectarian purposes too often conflict with the larger welfare. To foster experiments and inventions, to provide opportunity for the expression of genius, to relate these abilities to the solution of community problems, material and spiritual, to organize emotions and develop loyalties to such life-purposes and thus to contribute to change, reform, and reorganization of life in the community, these too are the tasks of the educators. They will need courage at times; but so did all the prophets.

Doubtless these questions come to mind: "Are all teachers to be prophets?" and "Are all children to be educated for reform?"

Whether they should be or not, certainly most teachers by disposition, ability, and training will be content with the primary rôle. Only the superior teachers will achieve the prophetic function. And we need police-men as well as inventors in the total economy of a community. Each teacher should study himself honestly and with the best guidance possible determine for himself just what his rôle is to be.

Though it may be difficult for the ideal teacher to perform the dual rôles of priest and prophet, so far as possible, he will strive to do so. The fact is he may alternate his primary and prophetic contributions. Although the former may occupy the greater part of his time, on occasion others in his relations to his pupils and to his community — through leadership — he will inspire people with vision and courageous devotion to the promotion of the larger welfare.

Similarly it is apparent that not all children could be taught for reform. The bulk of the population must be educated to appropriate reform leadership, not to try to achieve it. Only children of superior abilities can be wisely guided toward actual achievement in this respect. We do not yet possess clear definitions of intelligent fellowships

nor optimum leaderships for the various agencies but both are necessary. Most children will have to be educated to appreciate that the problems exist and that something can be done to solve them, a few children will be educated to do something about them. There are always plenty of the former type to provide the continuities. At least if people cannot actively aid they can refrain from stupidly resisting. In fairness, however, to the "average" man destined to followship, it should be pointed out that the great conflicts come not so much from the resistances of the rank and file to societal changes but from capable leaders who stand to lose by the changes if effected. The struggle between the leaders then centers on the strategic points in the control of the followship. That means the agencies of inculcation: press, movies, radio, schools, pulpits, and the like. To this problem there is no simple answer. Each must decide for himself where he will throw his support: toward vested interests or community welfare.

#### **DIFFERENTIAL ANALYSIS OF CULTURE**

THE PROBLEM is not then one of providing educations that will produce a "cultured man." For the implication is that some have culture and others do not. But every child, every man, has culture, more or less of one kind or another. The problem is to decide what kinds of cultures and in what amounts are needed by what sorts of people. We cannot be content here with mere philosophizing, for the generalities may be acceptable enough as such but they leave us with inadequate practical guides for the day's work in policy-making or in teaching a class of boys and girls in third-grade arithmetic. The kinds and amounts of cultures must be specified in terms of: (a) abilities of people, (b) their probable future activities, (c) the specific cultures needed for a and b, (d) the adequacies and shortages of their culture areas. Failure to do this produces a mass education that leaves many people without the opportunities for development they should have for the sake of themselves and their societies. Success in doing this differentiates the traits and complexes to be transmitted as real functioning units (tools)



of social adjustment. Such education may still be "man" ■■■ it is integrated and highly organized for wide varieties of situations.

#### CULTURE LIMITATIONS TO LEARNING

IN THIS connection the student may well be cautioned against a common assumption in educational theory, namely, that a pupil can be educated in school into any amount of culture. Because of this assumption we are frequently surprised at our educational failures. An English teacher hears an excellent student use "bad" grammar or common slang in his out-of-school relationships. Adults are expected by specialists to know the mathematics they learned in high school or college. Ask people what they learned in school and how frequently do they say, "I took Latin." And that is just it. They went through the academic gestures demanded of them by the school routine but it did not "take." As one recent graduate of a liberal arts college replied to the question, "What did you learn in college?"—"We learned that if so is so then so is so, but it wasn't so at all because it wasn't so in the first place." And why not? Because, among other reasons, what they studied seriously and faithfully enough at the time, perhaps, was not a real part of their cultural milieu. The culture the school had selected to impose upon them was not a part of their true social worlds outside of the school. And educators have defined learning almost entirely in terms of "psychology"! How much of learning—all the functional sort—must be defined in terms of culture-persistence? Should we not think of effective learning as much in terms of cultures as in terms of effects on behavior mechanisms?

The fact is that learning of this sort depends upon use. We learn and retain what has tool-value for us. But if the culture inculcated in the Little School is not reflected in the life of the Great Society we have not acquired the tools we should and soon lose what we did learn.

Effective education depends then upon the similarity between what is taught and the state of the culture in a community. Learnings in the Great School tend to be more

truly cultural, for there they are a part of genuine participations in the going concerns of life. They "tend" to be but are not always so, for those institutions farthest removed from maintenance are subject to disuse. They become ends in themselves and preserve traditional aspects that no longer have use. ■ the tertiary motives (religion and politics) could scrap worn-out practices, attitudes, and ideals as readily as the maintenance motives (as in engineering and industry) the Little School would not have such great tasks as it now faces.

Culture sets certain limits to educability. Émile Durkheim in his *Education et Sociologie* makes a penetrating conclusion when he maintains that one cannot educate a child beyond the culture milieu. Witness the Indian reverting to native ways when he returns from the Indian school to his tribe; the college lad who graduated full of ideals of social welfare in later life driving sharp bargains in practical politics, the hiatus between knowledge and conduct already statistically demonstrated.\*

Let us not confuse our thinking or practice by talking about "cultural education," for all education is that. Rather let us spend our energies in developing formulas of practical application by analyzing differentially the characteristics of a people and their cultures.

Such differential analysis of a people and their culture is basic to a shift from traditional to scientific education in our public schools.

What we need here is a new definition of cultural education: Whatever education increases contact between persons and culture traits or complexes in a community ■ cultural. Whatever education leads to assimilation by persons of the dominant culture complexes or traits of a community ■ strategically cultural. The analyses and indexing for relative importance of these complexes and traits, of the amounts and kinds of circulations of them by the societal agencies that make up the Great School — these are pressing tasks in educational sociology and are essential to determining the residuum as the work of the Little School. Then can we

\* *Atherton, W. B., The Indian Story of Religious Education, Dorn: 1925, p. 402.*

get more dependable answers to Spencer's great question, "What education is of most worth?"

### READINGS

*Note to students:* If your instructor does not make special assignments, read over these titles and if possible skip into what piques your curiosity.

Dawson, C. A. and Gettys, W. E., *An Introduction to Sociology*, Chs. 2-3 (Social Institutions). Further definitions and illustrative material for developing a list of institutions. Does not help on precise classifications but makes a good alternate reference if ones in Ch. 2 are not available. Ch. 4 (The Selective Distribution of People and Institutions). Suggestive for the relation of geography to institutions. Do not read carefully but just glance through the chapter.

Kelb, J. H., *Service Relations of Town and Country*, Research Bull. 52, 1925, Madison Agric. Exp. Station of the Univ. of Wisconsin. Defines an institution that bind county and village service-center into one unit of social organization economic, educational, religious, social, commercial, and organizational services. Important for rural students.

Wisler, C., *Man and Culture*. Easily the most illuminating book on "culture." Sometimes you should read this entire book carefully. Scan II and read portions treated in this chapter.

Keller, A. C., *Societal Evolution*. Categories which contain the basic suggestions for our classification of institutions.

Ross, E. A., *Social Control*. The classic work on this subject. Browse in it, if available.

Counts, G. S., *The American Road to Culture*. A journalistic exposition of some institutional maladjustments in America, with educational implications.

Hobbit, F., "Education as a Social Process" In *School and Society*, Vol. XXI. Stresses a contrast between learning in schools and out. Says: "Our specialized schools can teach the simple easy things. Where things are difficult and complex, one's training must be got mostly in the Great School." [Italics author's.] Take note of this and decide whether you agree or not, for in Vol. II under "objectives" we shall claim just the opposite.

Snedden, D., *Cultural Education and Common Sense*. Contrast his definitions with those in this chapter. What virtue inheres in "common sense" when we are trying to get away from it in the new educational?

Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change*. Read the whole book sometime but if you must not at this time read Part IV (Social Maladjustments), which harks back to the earlier work of Keller.

## WHAT OTHER INSTITUTIONS EDUCATE? 69

that changes in material culture involve changes in human relations.

Babcock, D., *Man and Social Achievement*. A readable account of the growth of societal institutions. It will give you the long view with which to evaluate present-day life and culture.

Thomas, Norman, *America's Way Out. A Program for Democracy*. An account of cultural lag from the point of view of a practical idealist. Should the problems he discusses worry educators as they worry him? You may not agree with his conclusions but you will be impressed by his data.

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*. Ch. 12 (Our Social Heritage). Additional references and study plan.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What adverse criticisms of the classification of mores have you?

2. What are the pros and cons of the statement: "Administrators should be represented in politics"?

3. Under the prevalence of modern methods of communication, given a fundamental mastery of them — language, arithmetic, etc., what particular kinds of self-educations (acculturations) do people effect today? Severally consider persons according to age, ability, social status, wealth or income, and occupation, and personality.

4. What aspects of your classroom situation result in what acculturations?

5. What are your criticisms of the definition of "culture" and the "cultured man"? What changes in "cultural education" are implied?

6. How can you support this statement, "All culture is utilitarian"?

7. What accounts should curriculum-makers take of culture areas?

8. What implications for methods of instruction do you find in the nature of culture transmission in various out-of-school situations? How does this modify your traditional conception of learning?

9. What attitudes are schoolmen likely to encounter if they attempt to take up "K" culture lag? What efforts are strongly resisted? Why is this so?

10. Why does material culture change more rapidly than spiritual culture? Can you apply this to any phase of school life?

11. What are your disagreements with "The Educator as Priest" and "The Educator as Prophet"?

12. Does the answer in the text to the question p. 64 "Are all children to be educated for reform?" do violence to traditional conceptions of democratic education?

13. Just what education should all children have in the elementary schools that can hope to check explosive leaderships? (p. 65)

14. What are the dominant culture complexes of your community? In what ways are your schools guaranteeing their transmission?

### Exercises

1. Write out a case illustration of how the behavior of a certain person in school was controlled by an institutional pattern.

2. Cite an instance of institutional maladjustment from which you are now suffering and show what educational changes would relieve the situation for you.

3. Analyze in any non-school agency specific educations achieved in that institution. (For example, home, store, movies, etc.)

4. Cite a case illustration of something learned in school which was soon lost because your social world did not require it as a tool of adjustment.

5. List three changes in the school offerings demanded by the definition of cultural education given on p. 67, severally consider elementary, junior high school, senior high school, junior college, senior college. Why should graduate university not be included?

## CHAPTER IV

### WHAT CAN SOCIOLOGY DO FOR EDUCATION?

**E**DUCATIONAL sociology is what sociology can do for education. Public school education is our organized way of guaranteeing the transmission of selected community continuities to the oncoming generations and of introducing such new ideas as will provide for change and take up culture lag.

#### EDUCATION IS A SOCIAL PROCESS

ALL EDUCATIONS, whether in public schools or as by-products of institutional activities, are essentially social, have social aspects, and are susceptible of sociological analysis. A teaching-learning situation is a human experience and as such is sociological data. There is no effort here to rule out other aspects, biological, physiological, psychological, or even geographical. The significance of one or more of these may vary with each education-situation, but such a situation can be studied from biological, physiological, psychological, economic, political, or geographical aspects.

Hitherto the emphasis has been to study educations mainly in their psychological aspects. In fact, so far has this tendency developed that it has done no little damage to educational efficiency. It is not the use of *I. Q.* tests, which really have value for administrative purposes, that has done so much harm; but, the extent to which teachers and administrators regard parts as wholes, explain pupils and learning in terms of instincts, habits, and capacities or heredities, without any apology for incomplete analysis. To explain

habit merely in terms of physiology or intelligence in terms of biological heredity is palpable error, as will be shown in Chapter IX. It is not the fault of psychologists that public school education has been bound hand and foot and delivered to them, but rather of the hordes of followers who have searched for a simple formula or a universal panacea. American education has without doubt been over-psychologized. Not that there should be any less effort in applying psychology to education—the same holds for biology or any other science—but that every student must realize the particular place and function and limitation of such contributory science.

Nor is anyone to blame, except possibly the sociologists for failure to develop a more complete picture of education-situations. Even eminent educational sociologists regard all teaching-learning processes as matters for psychologists, and of no concern to educational sociologists. But it will be seen as one goes farther into the matter that that view is too limited.

The fact is, sociology itself is a very young science. Thus far most of the time has been spent in wrangling and in formulating "theories" and "laws" based on general observation. Only recently have sociologists begun to use objective methods. They are just beginning to use the clinical procedures that have served medicine, industry, psychiatry, or psychology so well.

Young as sociology is, however, certain findings—descriptions, analyses, generalizations, and methods—are available. If these are utilized in the service of education, it is possible to round out our pictures of education-situations. Sociology can complement the contributions of other sciences and so provide a more adequate research for scientizing education in all its phases.

The student should view with scepticism any effort of a special kind to arrogate complex social phenomena like education to itself as its own private domain, be it biology, geography, philosophy, psychology, sociology, or any of the social sciences.

When an education-situation is analyzed it is seen to reveal

a complex set of elements and conditions—various phenomena which must be studied by the sciences that have specialized techniques suited to the types of data. It follows then that students of education would do well to combine sociology with the other sciences in their approaches to the understanding and control of education-situations.

All this suggests that the first task of educational sociology, as a subject of study in teacher preparation, is to illumine. From the long list of ranges of activities which make up the collective practices known as institutionalized education (or schools) one may select case illustrations at random.\* The student should be clear on this point: any education-situation can be analyzed sociologically. Realistically **all** learning occurs either in groups, two or more person groups, or through reference to groups or social worlds. Manifestly then teaching-learning situations can never be individual; they are always social. Since the main body of school activities constitute the collective habits known as institutions they are sociological data and can be studied sociologically.

For example, consider "*Determine general educational objectives.*" Involved in this range of activities are: persons making the determination and their biases, faiths, wishes, knowledge; the relation of education as a social institution to other social institutions, the shortages in education by other institutions in terms of the continuity and changes of those institutions; the welfare and development of the community as a whole, and the effects on personalities involved either as participants of those institutions or as learners in the schools; groups, leaderships, societal trends, and the like, are all represented no matter in what city or county objectives are being determined.

Or again, under "administering the school system," consider: "*Maintain adequate public support through taxes.*" On the face of it, this would seem to be merely economic phenomena and yet here, too, one finds community trends, population distributions, nationalities, dominant uses of financial resources, governmental efficiencies, vital-interest groups, attitudes toward paying taxes, attitudes toward

\* See Chapter III, "*Man Habits in Education*," pp. 45-46.



school programs and school authorities—all of which are societal phenomena and are capable of sociological study.

Or again, take "*Assign the daily lesson*" under "Teaching." This at first glance would seem to be purely psychological, i.e., consideration of the content and methods of instruction. But are there not here too persons, teachers and pupils in a school world, school groups, culture resources available for study in the form of acts, laboratories, field situations, home backgrounds with limitations or facilities, family pressures, neighborhood attitudes and the like? By this time the student should see the reason for the contention that every education-situation, that every educational activity, is essentially social and is therefore capable of sociological analysis. The elementary purpose of such analysis is to secure an appreciative understanding of the social phenomena in public education.

#### WHAT IS SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS?

SOCIOLOGICAL analysis is the application of scientific methods to the study of human behavior in all types of situations. Such behaviors may be studied in their personal or collective aspects, the functioning of personalities or of groups or as social processes or resulting products such as personalities, social organizations, institutions, and the like.

#### WANTED: AN "INDIVIDUAL"

BECAUSE people never live in a vacuum it is impossible to find in actual reality an "individual." From the moment of birth all people live in some sort of groups, adjust themselves to all kinds of social pressures, meet various group expectations. Certain sciences like biology and its subsciences of physiology and psychology properly abstract human beings from their natural social settings to investigate their natures and functions as organisms. For them scientifically there is such a thing as an "individual." But when these human organisms are functioning normally their behaviors reflect the conditionings of culture and of other people.

Therefore the sociologist rules out (or should, for many

## **SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO EDUCATION ■**

are still confused on this point) the concept "individual" and substitutes a concept for reality as he actually finds it, namely, the "person." Why he does so and what he means by this term will be elaborated in Book II, Part I. A moment's reflection will convince any student that whatever else may be said about human behavior it has social aspects. It is the business of sociology to tease out and make clear the social phases of human experience and to discover the conditions of their causation. And when this is done for educational experiences, the methods used and the resulting knowledges constitute educational sociology.

### **BUT WHAT IS SCIENCE?**

THREE possible definitions of science may be found: (a) science is a body of knowledge which has been objectively proved and is generally agreed upon by the experts capable of judging its validity; (b) science is a series of methods for the description, analysis, and interpretation of data which then form the bodies of knowledge referred to in (a); (c) science is both the technique of discovery and the data established, thus combining the concepts of both (a) and (b).

The first definition may well be used for old well-established sciences like physics or astronomy; the third for more recent ones that are well under way such as biology or psychology. But the present writer is inclined to use for his own purposes the second concept because sociology is so young as a science that there are relatively few findings of sufficient objectivity or that are sufficiently agreed upon by sociologists.

The major part of the sociology to date is "inspirational philosophizings" or "hunch sociologies" based upon insights of more or less value but not yet objectively proved. To think of sociology as a tool-box with the implied necessity of improving the number and efficiency of the tools of investigation puts the emphasis where it is at present needed and saves the student from misconceptions of achievements in date. All of which applies even more to educational sociology. When and as we develop a good set of tools to

analyze educational situations and processes sociologically we shall gradually be able to fill our shop with furniture worth using. Therefore the student will find in this book plenty of theory but *theories of methods* rather than *theories of findings*—theories of how best to define, describe, and analyze the problem phenomena. An amount of scientific knowledge in this field is already available but compared to what we need to know it is small indeed.

#### SCIENCE IS NOT MAGIC

AND YET there is nothing mystical or magical about science as method. As Frauley has said: "Science is organized common sense." Nevertheless there is just the difference between vague thinking and sharp thinking in the difference between common sense sporadic, incidental, chaotic, and common sense organized.

Above all one should have no worshipful attitude toward science either as facts or methods. It is not an end in itself but a means to knowledge. The essence of the scientific spirit is an attitude of open-mindedness toward new data or technique of investigation, an attitude of persistent questioning and testing. Its faiths or hopes will take the form of hypotheses but it will not rest content with their formulation merely. It will hold them tentatively until they are validated or proved false. In either case no tears will be shed. Nor will it be free of emotional expressions but it will subordinate the emotions to the intellect by demanding that reasoned conclusions square with sensory experience that have been checked and double-checked.

Furthermore the scientific spirit is characterized by patience, hard work, tolerance, frankness, reasonableness, co-operation, and a willingness to share results—in short, a thorough-going devotion to truth. Not that all scientists achieve these idealistic aspects of the scientific spirit. Quite the contrary in many cases. Yet they are the ideals that every true scientist strives to achieve.

Can the average teacher express this scientific attitude? Yes, in varying degrees depending upon her abilities and her training in the methods or attitudes of scientists. But she

■ not born with it and will not acquire it naturally simply because as yet it is relatively rare in the world.

#### THE FUNCTIONS OF SCIENCE

THE AVERAGE person's mind is full of fallacious ideas, such as chance, luck, fate, or the control of natural and social phenomena by spirits, Lucifer or Jehovah. But even such conceptions imply an effort to explain in terms of causes the dramaturgic events of his life. The trouble is he postulates causes without checking his explanations. Then in the course of time by the very force of tradition he regards the questioning or testing of his explanations by others as sacrilegious. Hence the warfare between science and religion which is a matter of history.

It is the business of science to rid our minds of fallacies and to substitute knowledge for our errors in explaining phenomena. Because of the developments in science already achieved, intelligent people no longer explain diseases or misfortunes such as earthquakes, droughts, or floods as divine punishments for sin or the criminality of man by his innate depravity.

All too often we allow our emotions or impulses to determine our behaviors or choices. Then we search about for reasons or excuses to justify our actions to ourselves or others. This is not thinking as we should think, but thinking according to our wishes. It is "wishful thinking." Therefore it is a task of science and hence of education \* to change this common tendency toward "wishful thinking" into *thankful thinking*.

Science provides data which form a basis for prediction and control of natural or social phenomena. We see this in the development of mechanics which overcome man's limitations. So we build great bridges; tunnel under rivers; sail on and under seas, and ■ in the air; send messages around the world in less time than it takes to write these words; and set in print by machines book records of human achieve-

\* The student should keep in mind that here and subsequently "education" refers to the "Lehr-Schul" and not to the "Erzieh-Schul." When education in the broad sense is meant it will be qualified as such.

ments. We see it in the experimental evolution of the biologists, in the improvement of stocks by animal breeders, the new kinds of foods developed by Bantam. And we see it in the development of social work and in societal engineering: war propaganda that sends millions of our young men to Europe,\* the laws that put our children in schools whether they like it or not, the advertisements that sell us goods beyond our means to pay, and the public health activities that reduce dangerous diseases to occasional occurrence.

#### SOCIETAL TELICISM

THIS conception that a society can control its destiny is not new. It is implicit in primitive customs and institutions. Without it the formal education into primitive rituals would be absurd even to the native peoples. Whatever else they may be they are never absurd. Everything they do in terms of their knowledge has a real utility. But the idea that societies can organize their efforts toward definitely and deliberately established ends — telicism — is new in that it requires knowledge scientifically derived as the conscious basis of such efforts. The student will readily recognize types of societal telics already developed — guidance clinics, community organization in community chests, or councils of social agencies, public health work, regional and town planning, social work, scientific legislation (Wisconsin), propaganda.

LESTER F. Ward, the founder of American sociology, first used and elaborated the meaning and significance of this concept "telicism" in his *Dynamic Sociology*, in 1883, and later in his *Psychic Factors of Civilization* 1892, and especially in his *Applied Sociology* 1906. He argued that unless societies become telic — deliberately determine their destinies — they suffer the wastes of natural evolution besides delaying possible gains in culture achievement. Societies, he wrote, must know themselves, their natures, forms, processes, and defects, then they can organize societal self-control. Science is the way to knowledge. After such knowledge is made available by the experts it must be universalized.

\* Cf. C. G. Lipp, *How We Sell the War to America*.

Thus he maintained that "education is the proximate means of progress."

But if the contents and methods of education be not scientific but traditional may we not be deceiving ourselves ■ confusing mere motion with definite movement toward a known destination? Of all the difficulties facing us today in the improvement of education, by far the most baffling is the setting up of valid ends. The means of getting such ends would be solved relatively quickly with the application of knowledge even now extant for they would be engineering problems chiefly. What we need is sufficient data of the kind that will convince people to accept the telos. Teachers may well keep in mind that such advances are slow; else their enthusiasms may seem futile and they themselves turn to cynicism.

#### **METHODS OF SCIENCE**

As a HELPFUL review of other studies it may be of value here to set forth briefly the various aspects of scientific methods. First is the observation of the phenomena — stars, gey-sers, beetles, legislatures, boys' gangs, or school assemblies. To do this it is necessary to decide what phenomena to observe, i.e., locate the problem. Then record the data observed with methods that will provide the most accurate description possible.

The second general process is *analysis*. This means breaking up the observed and described phenomena into comprehensible parts: the elements that make it up and the conditioning factors that enter into their causation. These items are then isolated, classified, compared, measured for recurrence to discover modalities, variabilities, and correlations between the items so isolated and compared. Though correlations must be accepted with great caution, for they may represent mere coincidence or association, they are probably so far the best statements of causation that we have.

The third step ■ *synthesis*. This is a drawing together of the items previously analyzed by induction and generalization or setting up a new hypothesis, or a reconstruction of reality.

The fourth step is *experiment*. By a control of conditions the investigator reproduces the phenomena so as to test the accuracy of his observations, analyses, and generalizations or conclusions. Manifestly this is impossible in certain sciences like astronomy or sociology to the degree that it is possible in chemistry or biology. But where experiment is not practicable a substitute is found in mathematical calculations with constant check-up on subsequent phenomena. Thus in sociology multiple- and partial-correlations are valuable methods of discovery in dealing with complex societal phenomena not immediately amenable to experiment.

The teacher should note, however, that many experiments in educational sociology are possible because of the control-character of school situations. While we cannot experiment with communities and nations we can with children in a family, in groups in churches, and classes in schools. But before experiments on people are carried out the investigator should possess evidence that they are practicable and likely to be productive of real results.

The fifth step is *evaluation*. Here the task is to set forth the new data discovered with their possibilities and limitations as knowledge.

The sixth step is *application*. This is using the knowledge gained by the foregoing methods in the solution of practical problems. It is the development of engineering — mechanical, electrical, structural, or social.

#### THE UTILITY IDEAL IN EDUCATION

Now just because education is an engineering or an applied science, so far as it is a science at all, and just because the sciences upon which it depends are not so highly developed — psychology, sociology, endocrinology, economics, political science, and the like — it is not easy for educators to maintain the scientific spirit. All too often statistical data on a very few cases are taken to warrant far-reaching conclusions because the investigator is intensely devoted to the solution of some practical problem. A scientifically-minded student of education uses practical problems as a starting-point for investigations. But once he has located or defined his re-

search problem he then forgets the practical problem from which he started. Otherwise he is inclined to find what is favorable to his hypothesis, he does not discover what he discovers but what he wants to discover. Too much educational research reflects just such bias. If the investigator finds something useful for the solution of the practical problem from which he sets up his research, he may then apply his findings for such a purpose. If not, he is content to continue investigating. But he never lets his desire to solve a practical problem influence his scientific findings. Doing research upon practical problems is thus necessary to avoid futile results but it constitutes a danger which must always be guarded against most carefully.

#### **SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE**

A FURTHER word of warning may not be amiss: sociology, and by the same token, educational sociology, is a science not by virtue of mathematical exactness but just in so far as it adheres to the scientific method and expresses the scientific spirit. Statistics is only one set of tools of research. Concepts and categories (terms) are no less important for purposes of classification and comparison. And besides there is a logic other than that of mathematical symbols. The importance of this or that type of research tool depends upon the nature of the problem selected for investigation. Thus studies in school attendance would be statistical; the development of educational activities of a co-operative society or labor union would be historical; the truancy of Joe Baker, analytical or qualitative; and the study of the work of a city system of schools would involve all types of investigation. Some sciences like geology are mainly descriptive; others like physics, mainly experimental. The beginning student of sociology will profit most by regarding it as a descriptive science (Volume I). But he may well get an appreciation of the methods employed, in the interests of evaluating the acceptability of sociological description (Volume II).



## SOCIOLOGICAL DATA

Now LET us apply the foregoing to the study of people and their behaviors, not political nor economic nor religious, but educational, for the last is our chief interest. Sociology observes the past to discover the developmental aspects of educational activities. It uses materials from special sciences such as archaeology, ethnology, anthropology, and history — proverbs, folklores, myths and legends, rituals, letters, contracts, regulations, advertisements, constitutions, laws, proclamations, diaries, journals, biographies, sacred books, newspapers, magazines, and many others. It also observes present educational behaviors in schools and out by means of inquiries, researches, and social surveys that seek precision through use of phonographs and sound-recording instruments, photographs and movies, stenographic records and the like. Thus it gets data from the conversations, speeches, interviews, gossip and writings, census and other reports, and overt behaviors of persons, groups, associations, mobs, riots, ceremonies, movements, agencies, organizations, and institutions.

By collecting data of these kinds and in these ways sociology proceeds to analyze, classify, and induct conclusions that illumine the nature of educational phenomena.

## BEHAVIOR IS FLURALISTIC

IN ANALYZING a social complex the student must keep in mind that human behavior in any single instance is not simple and easily explained but complex. Any explanation must of necessity be complicated. It may be unfortunate that this is so but we cannot blind ourselves to this fact to avoid inconvenience. We must take realities as they are, and not misrepresent them as is so often done in educational practice or theory. How often do we hear teachers explain the stealing of a knife by John Smith by saying, "His instinct to steal is too strong," or, the difficulties of Molly Jones in the history class by the remark, "Her I. Q. is only 85." Or, "She doesn't study"; or "She's lazy." Having disposed of the matter thus conveniently, the teacher is content to let his

relations with the child be determined by such simple and inaccurate analysis. Who more than a teacher needs a technic of understanding human behavior? Is he not called upon time and time again every day, in an effort to guide and control child growth, to explain in terms of causes and effects the behavior of children?

It is highly important then that teachers avoid simple explanations as they would poison. Such simple and easy explanations are logically unsound for they identify a part with the whole; they are unscientific in that they deny the scientific spirit; they are immoral because unintelligent and because such judgments are not fair to children. Our youth deserve the best our science can give them. Above all, then, let teachers recognize the complex character of all human behavior and hasten to analyse and understand and be slow to pass moral judgments about it, at least until they have investigated it deeply enough to find more than "the" one cause which is usually an apparent and frequently an erroneous one.

To iterate: human behavior is pluralistic and must be explained in pluralistic and not singularistic terms. ■ that we mean that there is a "plural" (many) of elements in any instance of human behavior and a plural of factors that condition the characteristics of these elements. As teachers we want to appreciate what elements with their qualities combine functionally with what conditioning factors and their qualities in the production of a child's behavior. Lacking that we cannot really teach, we simply blunder along and the child gets what he gets in spite of, rather than because of, us. Possessing such knowledge we can vary the conditions and their qualities with reference to the varying elements and their qualities of a child and thus get the resultant behavior we want. This we do now with more or less success; it is necessary for the child's sake that we do it more consciously, more precisely, and so more efficiently.

#### **FRAGMENTING A SOCIAL COMPLEX**

IN BREAKING up any education-situation such as a class, an assembly, a teacher's institute or an education-process such as

a recitation, a misdeed, an interview between pupil and principal, a fight on the playground, a speech to induce teachers to improve themselves professionally—it is necessary to analyse out the elements and the conditioning factors.

#### THE UNIT OF INVESTIGATION

THE ELEMENTS of a social complex are those parts of it which cannot be broken up any further. These may then be regarded as the units of investigation which every distinct science must have. Thus the unit for physics is an electron; for chemistry, an atom; for biology, a cell; for psychology, a neuron; and for sociology, what? For the early sociologists it was an individual; for Blackmar and Gillin, a *status*; for A. W. Small, a group; for the French sociologist Caillaud, sociality; for E. C. Hayes, ideas, sentiments, and practices; for W. I. Thomas, wishes (*attitudes*) and values. For our purposes in educational sociology, we may use an *instance of interaction* as a unit of investigation when studying educational processes or either a person or group when the products or structures are important. While this is at present not entirely satisfactory in science it is a practical way out of the disagreements indicated above. Our units will vary according to the problem phenomena we select for analysis. We may study classes as groups or as social interactions. We may study administration as functions of leadership personalities or as group structures. While these are realistically different aspects of unitary human experience, analysis with these units as tools can serve our purposes of understanding educational phenomena as social phenomena.

These elements are combined in a variety of numbers and qualities and make up the nature of a problem phenomenon. Thus the answer a pupil makes to a teacher's question is a complex of elements: wishes, attitudes, school purpose, selves, habits, thinkings, personal values, mutual influencings of teacher, pupil, and other pupils in the class. All such and more are involved even in simple pupil answers.

## CONDITIONING FACTORS

NOW ARE these combinations of elements the only aspects of the total situation. The elements in the answer have been caused or determined by certain factors that exist in that situation of a classroom recitation. Thus the pupil's health at the time or immediately preceding his physiological growth, glandular functionings, and heredity condition the answer directly or indirectly. These we may call the *biological factors*. His spatial position before the class, distance to his home, difficulties of getting back and forth to school (topography), and climate (temperature, humidity, atmospheric pressure) influence his behavior in one way or another. These are the *geographical factors*. Then his logic and language, his own and societal values, folkways, implements and other tools will determine the nature and correctness of his answer. These are the *technological factors* (the cultural inventions). Finally there are the *societal conditions* that influence him. These are groups and their characteristics, organizations, institutions, sanctions, and disapprovals, in short the people and their relationships that exist at the time or in his background social world against which he evaluates all his behaviors.

Thus all the conditions of human behavior may be classified under these four categories: (G) geographical, (B) biological, (T) technological, and (S) societal. As they change in detail one way or another the characteristics of the phenomena will change. It is our task to familiarize ourselves with the recurrent types of changes in conditioning factors and the resultant changes in behavior in the interests of a better understanding of our pupils. This knowledge then makes possible such manipulations of the conditioning factors that we can get the resulting behavior we want on the part of a pupil.

For example, a pupil may not attempt to answer a question put by a teacher during a recitation. What changes have occurred in his total situation to produce such a result? Only investigation and analysis can determine in any specific case. But let us consider hypothetical instances. If we find upon

investigation no changes in elements and none in the *G*, *B*, *T* factors but a *T* change (one detail) in the *S* factors, then we can say that *T* is the cause of his failure to answer. Such might be a neighborhood party (*S*) in the pupil's home the previous night which made it impossible for him to prepare his lesson. Or with *G*, *B*, *S* constant and a change in *T*: he missed the bus *T* and arrived late just in time for the question but is not yet oriented. Or with *G*, *S*, *T* constant, and a change in *B*: five minutes before the class was called, he developed a severe toothache (*B*). Or with *B*, *S*, *T* constant, and a change in *G*: the birds (*G*) singing outside the classroom window (*G*) brought to mind the "swimm'n' hole" (*G*) where he was picturing himself splashing around and so did not hear the question. Thus a change from one time to another of a detailed aspect of any of these conditioners may result in the same change of behavior—failure to answer in his usual manner.

Consider then what may happen when there is a combination of changes in the conditioners. The causation is then complicated and the problem of investigation more difficult. Or what if there are changes in the elements? For a child's wishes and habits and dominant purposes do not remain the same all the time. These effects are also revealed in behavior.

#### SOCIOLOGY AND OTHER SCIENCES

NOW WHILE sociology does not undertake to be responsible for the sciences of biology (including psychology) and geography, in analyzing the total situations that enter into the causation of human behavior and of social structures or groups, it draws heavily upon these other sciences. It is, however, responsible itself for the data for *T* (cultural sociology) and *S* (general sociology). To the extent that the data of *T* and *S* factors are also investigated by other sciences sociology draws upon them (economics, political science, penology, social work, and the like). General sociology seeks to establish the uniform recurrences of behavior whether it is educational behavior, or economic behavior, or marital behavior, or political behavior. Its relation to the social sciences in this

respect is like that of biology to anatomy, physiology, zoology, and botany. Sociology cancels out the particular and seeks universal laws of human behavior. So far, however, the development of sociology does not offer us conclusions that may be called laws. Our knowledge is based upon insufficient data because our methods need refinement and precision. It is better then for students to think of the so-called "laws" of sociology as tentative generalizations. Though these are not ever and always true as are the laws of physics, nevertheless a few of them are sufficiently dependable to guide our efforts in education at least tentatively.

### **SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATION**

By sociological analysis then we mean (a) the selection of an instance of behavior in an education-situation and (b) the fracturing of this complex into its component elements and conditioning factors. When we analyze enough cases we can apply measurements and statistics to these recurrences. By so doing we can establish correlations between conjunctivities — elements and conditioners. These correlations and their sizes then define causative aspects in terms of degree. Analysis thus differentiates the detailed aspects of the conjunctivities and enables us to get a clearer and more precise understanding of what is happening. On the basis of such knowledge we manipulate conditioners and secure telic control. For example, in a rural situation if we find a high negative correlation between distance from school and pupil attendance so that everywhere the pupils who live closest attend the greatest number of hours per school year, and those who live farthest attend least we can reduce distance and increase attendance by providing buses to transport the distant pupils. By changing the technological conditions (providing buses) we offset the effects of the geographical factor of spatial distance.

### **SOME DEFINITIONS**

More simply sociological analysis of education is the use of sociological methods of analyzing educational behaviors and of sociological concepts or terms for description — that is,

classification and comparison of data. For short, we may call it *socioanalysis*.

Socioanalysis may be simply differential or it may be organic as well. Differential socioanalysis seeks for truth about certain phases; organic socioanalysis seeks for a complete picture of reality. The former corresponds to a special inquiry such as "relation of I. Q. to speed in reading," "written versus oral examinations as teaching devices," marriage among the Pueblos, crime and economic depression, or an educational "survey" of a city. The latter, organic socioanalysis, corresponds to a community survey in which not only education, but religion, industry, politics, and other phases are studied completely. For examples see Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, *The Pittsburgh Survey*, Harrison, &, *Springfield, Illinois*, Kulp, D. H., *Country Life in South China*, *The Sociology of Feudalism*, *Report of The American Bureau of Ethnology*, "The Puman." Differential analysis compares parts of totalities of the same order, organic analysis compares totalities as wholes.

#### DIFFERENTIAL ANALYSIS VS GENERALIZATION

THE EDUCATOR in preparation develops various uses of educational sociology. He uses it as we have been pointing out to clarify his understanding of what is happening in the various aspects of education. But more important still he uses it to develop an objective attitude toward his teachers and pupils. By developing skill in socioanalysis he discovers and deals practically with the realities that confront him.

Instead of breaking his back trying to apply the generalities of educational theory and philosophy to concrete situations and persons, by improved observation and analysis, he derives his data for himself and makes his own inductions. While we cannot expect this type of independence of the average person, who wants his creeds and institutions to do his thinking for him and not without justice, teachers aim at a higher efficiency, else they had better punch typewriters or run machines. Those who intend to work with human beings carry a responsibility for a higher type of in-

## SOCIOLOGY APPLIED TO EDUCATION ■

lectual efficiency and emotional organization than that of the average man or woman. No apology is necessary, therefore, to suggest to the student of education that he acquire a certain facility in analyzing and interpreting sociologically the phenomena and problems that come before him daily.

Behaviors are functions of situations and can ■ understood best not by generalities but by such differential socio-analysis as will discover the facts—elements and conditions—in each case and base procedures upon those facts and not upon theories. This is another reason why it is important to stress methods rather than findings. Some may object by saying that our expectations of administrators and teachers are far too high. We are not concerned with past so much as future achievements in education, they will depend upon the preparations our educators secure in normal schools and teachers' colleges. Educators have gone out in the past all too often armed full of theories only to be disillusioned in actual practice and therefore susceptible to each new proposal in educational fads. By discovering data for themselves their theories emerge in time but even these are checked by further analysis.

### FALLACY OF BEHAVIOR UNIFORMITIES

MUCH if not most of the theory in education as well as other social sciences is based upon an assumption that human behavior is uniform. But evidence is increasing every day to show that these uniformities are more apparent than real—data from psychiatric examinations, social work case histories, and experimental materials such as those reported by Hartshorne and May to the Character Education Inquiry.\* In discussing the "Conclusions and Implications of Studies ■ Self-Control," they write:

Any attempt to summarize such complex relationships as we have been dealing with is bound to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. Two general conclusions are emerging which account for the intricate nature of our findings. The first is that the conduct trends and their relations to one another ■ individuals are the precipitates of specific experiences and are functions of

\* Book II, Studies in Social and Self Control, p. 445.



*the situations to which they have become attached by habit. The second is that these specific trends and relationships are gathered into patterns which represent not general ideas about conduct, but, rather, specific group tendencies . . .*"\*

#### ORGANIC SOCIOANALYSIS

SOCIOANALYSIS is not only differential in that it reveals the uniqueness of each phenomenon it investigates but it may also be organic. Differential analysis is a monographic study of certain limited aspects of a total situation. Such is the relation of spatial distance to school attendance as cited previously, but without reference to any other factors. This type of analysis is of some value but it is partial and contains the errors of special inquiries.

As noted before human behavior is pluralistic and theoretically, then, other factors or elements operate to produce low attendance besides spatial distance. Thus we might provide buses on the basis of the findings of such a special inquiry to discover only slight improvement in the attendance. Furthermore it could happen that some of the other causative factors are even more important than spatial distance in determining the low attendance rates. If we knew these data we might be able to improve the rates not through the expense of providing buses but by effecting changes in other elements or other factors in the situation.

Thus lack of concern for education on the part of the parents (*S*) and rural poverty (*T*) might operate to produce child labor (*T*) on the farms while low abilities of pupils (*S*) with persistent failures in school work (*S*) — all of which may keep down attendance as much as spatial distance.

The organic character of such analysis inheres in the discovery of how aspects or conditioners or elements influence one another causatively. Just as an organism does not function normally lacking any one organ, heart or lungs or brain, so all significant parts in a total situation are revealed in their causative interdependencies by organic socioanalysis. It fixes the relative importance causally of the parts of the totality, and aims at completeness of analysis.

\* *Publications.*

Combining, then, these two features we may define *differential organic socianalysis* as: the factorizing of a social complex into elements or conditioners and the discovery of the kinds and degree of functional interrelations of the parts as causes in the total situation.

#### TEACHERS NEED DIAGNOSTIC SKILLS

Now suppose physicians were prepared as are educators. They would reach their conclusions in daily practice by general principles and not by differential diagnosis of each and every patient. Today one comes into the office with a headache; tomorrow a second person comes in with a headache. Therefore the same treatment for both. Fortunately for us all the new physicians are trained to beware of giving the same treatment to the person on the second as on the first day simply because too many factors may cause a headache and these factors can be discovered in each case only by repeating the diagnostic procedures.

Or consider the preparation of lawyers. Formerly theories and general principles made up the bulk of the content of legal education. This was found so useless in the solution of practical legal problems that dissatisfaction grew until the old materials were thrown out and the case-methods of study and instruction were used.

Why do teachers in preparation expect any less adequate training in the skills of their profession? Because theorists have led them to believe that problems can be solved by generalities. Although teaching is "treating" pupils we assume we can "treat" them alike even before we have analyzed them to know how much alike or different they are. The technics of differential analysis in educational practices must displace the easy philosophizing. So far our antidotes have been experimental psychological research and practice teaching but even they are not adequate.

The point may also be illustrated by statistics. Many data must be collected before statistical procedures can be applied. Here the aim is to precise the runs, trends, modes, averages and the like. But what happens to the person in all this scramble of symbolic logic? He is lost completely.

## EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

You may say, "But I know the I. Q. of Johnny Jones is 109." But what does 109 mean when one does not know what zero means? Statistics has its uses in educational research but more immediately and practically for the administrator than for the teacher. When he wants trends, he uses statistics. When he deals with specific persons and groups he will refrain from using statistics and employ the methods of differential organic socioanalysis. Both are essential.

### ACTIVITIES AS PHENOMENA

FOR PRACTICAL study purposes where can the student procure "social complexes" to analyze? This appears difficult at first glance but really it is quite simple. Just as the botanist first gathers his plants and flowers as materials to work upon, as the geologist collects samples of rocks, and the entomologist assembles his insects as phenomena to be analyzed and handled scientifically, so the student of education may find his materials in the activity analyses already presented. Let him take any one activity, call that the problem phenomenon to be studied and proceed to analyze its elements, its conditioning factors, and the qualities of their conjunctivities. Even without mathematical exactness it will be helpful to see these different aspects of a total situation in their relations, and thus get a better appreciation of the nature of human behavior than is otherwise possible.

The concepts and their sociological meanings as tools of clarification and comparison are presented in Book II, on Personality, Collective Behavior, and Organizations.

### GUIDING CONSIDERATIONS

THE FOLLOWING suggestions are useful to students who make sociological analyses of pupil behaviors or education-situations:

1. The methods of investigation should be adapted to the characteristics of the problem selected for study.

2. The use of the techniques should rest upon a mastery of the extant knowledge that bears upon the problem.

- (a) It is a good practice to begin by preparing a comprehensive bibliography.

(b) From preliminary readings a list of the recurring concepts and categories can be made for tools of classification.

3. The investigation should proceed, once the problem is selected, without reference to application.

4. Sociology as a science does not recognize "good" and "bad." To the biologist weeds are as important objects of study as wheat.

5. The research is not complete until analysis is made of the total situation. The student may stop when necessary but he should recognize the partial character of his results.

6. Sociological investigation strives for measurement but when this is not feasible case analysis (differential organic socioanalysis) is substituted.

7. Even when statistics may be employed the results should be checked back against case samples.

8. Sociology is a science not by virtue of exactness but because of its use of scientific methods.

What aids most in the day's work is the ability to differentiate — not to generalize — for the day's work consists in dealing with persons or small groups of persons.

To summarize then, the application of sociological analysis to education in schools and out (a) illumines these realities, (b) provides the technics for analysis of work-a-day problems and (c) the tools of serious research for purposes of discovery. Since the last are discussed at length in Volume II, we need not here consider them further.

#### **"KNOW THYSELF"**

FINALLY may be mentioned another outcome that sociology helps produce for education. That is the educator's understanding of himself. What he learns about the personalities of pupils or other people is suggestive for himself. As he analyses groups he more clearly observes what is happening in his own group activities. While he learns about the social worlds of pupils he sees himself in his own social world and realizes more clearly what it is doing to and with him and what his status in it is. We believe that is no mean contribution because there is evidence available even now to show that not a few failures of teachers or administrators

have been due to ignorance of themselves and others as persons. There is a growing movement in this country for the development of methods of analyzing and testing or evaluating professionally teachers' personalities. A teacher personality, as a lawyer or doctor personality, is a product of variables that include culture and human groups and social interactions. Sociology as the science of these phenomena can offer suggestions for self-understanding.

### READINGS

*Note to student:* The strictly technical phases of this subject are reserved for Vol. II but here you may get an introductory appreciation of methods. Read Hobson and Wolke or others.

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*, Chs. 3 and 4. (The Sociological Method of Approach to Social Problems): Ch. 50 (Getting the Facts). Study plan and addendum bibliography.

Hobson, J., *Free Thought in the Social Sciences*. Pt. 1 (The Art of Free Thinking). Fifty-seven pages of the best account of prevalent biases that make the development of social sciences difficult and slow. Clear and easy to read. Hobson is an English liberal.

Wolke, H. B., *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*. What do you think "is" and "do" scientific method? If you read this you may be surprised.

Lundberg, O. A., *Social Research: A Study in Methods of Gathering Data*. A comprehensive critical treatment of methods.

Palmer, V., *Field Studies in Sociology. A Student's Manual* 1928. Brief and to the point. Just what the title indicates.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In the statements about public school education in the opening paragraph of this chapter show what parts are realistic and what idealistic, with evidence.

2. Precisely why is education a social process? What of it?

3. Why should educational sociology be thought of as a set of methods for investigating educational problems rather than as a set of conclusions?

4. Name some fallacies in educational practices that could be eliminated by an application of scientific method.

5. What is "control" in scientific experiments?

6. What is meant by "pluralistic behavior"?

7. What is the substitute for "control" in educational sociology when experiments is impossible?

8. Indicate a single fallacy in educational theory due to a failure to recognize that behavior is a function of a situation.

■ ■ behavior is a function of a situation, what rôle do social worlds play in learning?

10. Why is differential organism sociomathesis superior to generalization in fixing educational policies?

11. Specify types of data in educational sociology

12. What implications do you see in the proposition number 4 on p 93.

13. If you disagree with the contention that teachers need diagnostic skills on the ground that many teachers are incapable of such achievement, what practical alternate proposal have you?

14. How do you distinguish between problem phenomena and conditioning factors?

### **EXERCISE**

On the pattern presented on pp 85-86 analyse a case experience of your own and indicate causation. Indicate checks on the error in your conclusion



***Book II***  
***Elementary Concepts***  
***of the Sociology of Education***





## PART I: PERSONALITY AS A PRODUCT OF EDUCATION

### INTRODUCTION

**W**HAT ARE the elements of human nature? Man is born an animal plus capacities to acquire human nature. This marks him off as an animal far above all other animals; but his relationship to the lower orders is unmistakable.

The raw materials of human nature are: original nature — biological heredity, culture — societal heredity, and time — the social experience through which man passes.

"Human nature never changes." This fallacy is heard on every hand. The fact is "human nature" is one of the most changeable things we know of. Otherwise institutions would not exist, behavior could not be controlled, and education would not be possible. "Human" nature is animal nature culturized. The principle of relativity previously formulated applies here: human nature like culture is relative to period, place, and people. People should say, "Original nature never changes." But what's the difference? Just the difference between man and other animals and that needs no elaboration.

More precisely human nature is personality and its characteristic functionings or behaviors. Personality may be thought of as a function of three types of variables: original nature, culture, and time.

The formula is

$$P = \frac{ON \times C}{T}$$

in which *ON* is original nature, *C* is culture, and *T* is time. The multiplication sign is used to indicate that the richer

the culture the more development is possible of *ON* and the greater the capacities represented by *ON* the more culture can be acquired. These are analyzed and interpreted in detail in Chapters V to VIII. The division symbol is employed to indicate that the mutual relations of original nature and culture are conditioned by time. "Time" means the moments of experience through which the person passes in the development of his personality, and more particularly the serial order of these experience-moments (*SEM*). The formula might be arranged thus:

$$P = \frac{ON \times C}{SEM}$$

Time is thus the natural history of a person and determines just how the *ON* will mature and function and how *C* will be assimilated and utilized. *C* includes not only material but also spiritual culture, which embodies the intangibles of human relationships and social interactions. The "serial order of experience-moments" merely describes the ways in which the experiences occur historically.

It makes a great difference how the experience-moments occur in the resultant personality analyzed at any particular time. For example, one need only think back over one's own history to realize the subsequent influences of reading a significant book at, say, age twenty and how one wished for the opportunity to read that book at age twelve. Had that been possible certain mistakes in choices and behaviors could easily have been avoided. Or think of other hot-spot experiences or turning-point experiences and consider their influences on subsequent behavior. Another illustration is the way sex knowledge affects sex practices. One child gets the truths about sex from his parents in a natural and wholesome way before he reaches puberty. Another child is put off with fallacious and fictitious answers when he asks embarrassing questions about conception and birth. Later he gets the truths from "the gutter," as we say. What are the contrasting resultant effects of these two series of experience-moments?

Or again, one youth gets critical attitudes about the politi-

cal and patriotic stereotypes from his father between the ages of ten and eighteen. Another not usual fit gets out of college and into practical politics. Does the time of the acquisition of these critical facilities make any differences in the resulting personalities? Such is what is meant by the "serial order of the experience-moments."

Every personality is therefore unique. That is, no two persons are exactly alike, for each has, whatever common characteristics he may reveal, a margin of uniqueness or difference from all other human beings. We know now, in spite of political shibboleths of equality, that original nature is not identical in all men except possibly in the case of identical twins. At first glance it would seem that culture could easily be the same for different persons or at least for identical twins or sibs in the same family situation. But the order of the series of experiences which contact with particular culture-trains or other persons or groups modifies the effects of culture uniformities and therefore modifies also the maturations of *ON*, thereby changing it in its physiological development. Thus even identical twins with the same *ON* and seemingly the same *C* would not have the same *SEM*. Therefore they show some uniquenesses. The differences vary then in terms of the varying characteristics of any one of these types of raw materials of personality, *ON* or *C* or *SEM*. Such differences are further accentuated by variations in the conjunctivities of these elements.

Now the use of the formula must not be interpreted as mathematically exact but as suggestive of lines of investigation into the nature of personality. The time is coming when these elements will be indexed in various ways and then the exactness of mathematical formulation will be possible. The problem in method is to discover ways of making concrete and specific the mathematical values of *ON*, *C*, and *SEM*.

## CHAPTER V *ORIGINAL NATURE OF MAN*

### 1. BIOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

**T**HE DATA of this chapter are not sociology, but biology and its sub-sciences of physiology and psychology. It is necessary to set them in sharp contrast to the "raw materials" of culture to see how, through time, they enter into personality development.

#### FINDINGS ON SUB-HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY

Our knowledge of original nature has been expanded recently through direct and indirect studies of various kinds. Such have been studies in animal behavior by Yerkes, Thorndike, Pavlov, and Köhler on rats, chicks, dogs, and monkeys. Direct investigations have been made by J. B. Watson on new-born infants in Johns Hopkins and by Buhler, Metzger, and Tudor-Hart in Vienna, the latter with special reference to their social behaviors. Biological investigations into the fundamental behaviors of organisms have been made by Loeb, Jennings, and others, and into the higher forms by Child and Herrick.

Space permits the inclusion here of only those data of special importance for students of education who desire to appreciate the elements of personality and the complementary rôles of nature and nurture, and possibly to correct certain fallacious conceptions of original nature.

The old traditional explanations of animal behavior are gone for good: that a stampede of a herd of swine was caused by entrance into the hearts of the demons or evil spirit that

previously resided in an inane person, as among the Jews in the time of Christ. Or that lions are to be feared because they possess *mana*, the "Awful Powerful," as among the Masai of Africa. Behaviors of animals are known now to come from the nature of their organisms and the types of situations characteristic of their habitats.

Data of biological evolution, both historical and experimental, establish beyond doubt the unitary character of man and other animals. The geological, the embryological, the anatomical, and the histological, or developmental, evidences all support this conclusion. Furthermore, recent researches by an English investigator have proved that the chemical composition of man and of the higher or man-like apes is very similar but differs markedly from that of other kinds of animals, such as the horse or the dog. Köhler's experiments with chimpanzees revealed that they dance, paint their faces, decorate themselves, and achieve simple inventions whereby to solve the problem of easily getting hold of food beyond their reach. Thus the unity of man and other animals is not only physical, that is anatomical and organic similarity, but also mental.

The animal equipment for adjustment began ■ the sensibility or irritability of protoplasmic substance and developed in the achievement of mobility for searching out food and avoiding enemies. In organic evolution the simplest organisms had only interior and exterior without definite parts. The developed types are anisot, that is have an orderly arrangement of parts which is called polarity and symmetry. These characteristics were thought to inhere in the molecular structure of the protoplasm of an organism, but are now known to depend upon the differences in the rate of living of different parts at various levels of growth. In other words, polarity and symmetry belong not to the structure of the organism but to the dynamics of living. Both form and behavior of elementary organisms are functions of adjustments to situations. This being true, it should be possible to modify both the characteristic forms and behaviors of such organisms. And that is what was experimentally achieved. Biologists succeeded in destroying permanently in the organisms

studied the polarity or the symmetry. Environment is thus shown to play a significant rôle in evolution. Education is a specialized form of environment. Such permanent modifications as indicated above show the "educability" of even low types of organisms and give us a basis in biological fact for manipulation of situations to produce the behavior of human organisms that may be desired.

Animals have senses, reflexes, integrated reactions, emotions, instincts, capacities to form habits, to learn, and to think — intellection. All the neuro-muscular mechanisms found in man can be matched in animals, more precisely part for part in the higher animals such as the anthropoid apes.

Differences between man and animals do exist but the differences are not in kind but in degree, mainly.

#### THE STUDY OF INFANTS AND CHILDREN

THE EASE with which some psychologists have studied experimentally the behavior of animals and applied the findings directly to human beings is amazing. Think of applying the results of studies on behaviors of chicks in learning a maze to "chickens" on Fifth Avenue or Michigan Boulevard! That is why we have been misled by the "instinct theory" of human behavior. What is true of sub-human animals we need to know, but man though born an animal does not remain such, nor is his child or adult behavior the same as that of adult animals. True it is a difference of degree but the degree of difference is so great as to mark man off distinctively. Because adult animals reveal instinct behaviors it does not follow *per se* that man does also.

Therefore in this book we take our lead from the researches of J. B. Watson who studied the behavior of new-born infants of human beings to get as close as possible to original nature and discover just what forms of behavior exist before social pressures really begin to influence a child. It was not only valor but wisdom to study human infants instead of animals to get at the original nature of humans. Besides, Watson's methods were direct and experimental and though his results have been criticized we can put more reliance

upon his contributions than upon the hypotheses of instincts as explanations of human behavior.

What has been discovered? That new-born infants possess neuro-muscular mechanisms that are irritable, a central nervous system and a sympathetic nervous system connecting up with the various muscles and conditioned by the functionings of the various glands, particularly the ductless glands, thyroid, adrenal, pituitary, and the like. From the behaviors of the new-born infants Watson claimed to discover sensory responses, reflexes, instincts—a few heritable patterns with rather a definite order of appearance, and emotions—not a long list of them, but *fear*, *rage*, *joy*, and possibly *love*, and capacities for habitizing and thinking. Only time discloses that potentialities for development far beyond the mere animal nature exist in any new-born infant. And these developments do not occur in human experience apart from social situations. We do not yet know then what these infant animal natures would develop into if human babies could grow up without contact with human adults and culture. So far the nearest we can get to such are the so-called *feral* or *wild man*, people who have grown up with animals. But the data are too uncertain. The experiment needed is somehow to allow a number of new-born babies to grow up with one another but with no direct contact with any adults. The resultant behavior would be extremely enlightening. In view of the ease with which we sacrifice the flower of our youth in war, it is hard to understand the emotional reticence to such a suggestion for deriving much-needed knowledge.

#### THE CONDITIONED REFLEX

Pavlov and others have shown the physiological phases of learning in terms of what they call the "conditioned" or "re-conditioned reflex." Pavlov, the student may recall, set up an experiment to get a dog to salivate to the ringing of a bell. This is not natural, for salivation of the dog comes from the sense of smell and then of sight, rather than from hearing. By the simple device of ringing a bell every time the dog saw or smelled the meat through a number of such



experiences, the ringing of the bell alone without any meat to see or smell was enough to cause the dog to salivate. Watson shows in his experiments with babies how he conditioned them to draw away from fear when originally they did not mind stroking it. By associating three elements in a situation, the first natural element can be substituted by a second artificial one. Thus if behavior *A* is organically a function of element *T* in a situation by combining element *W*, which is unnatural, *A* can become a function of *W* when *T* is absent. Associate *A* with *W* and *X*, drop out *W*, then *A* becomes a function of *X*. And so on to any new kind of situation-element resulting in the original mechanism of behavior becoming functionally attached to endless details ■ culture traits or complexes. This is the physiological basis of acculturation and partly explains why from this point of view there is no limit to human educability in general.

Burnham in his *The Normal Mind* makes extensive use of this concept "the conditioned reflex" and certain sociologists have taken it over bodily as a tool of analysis and explanation of social phenomena. Therefore it may be well to note a word or two of criticism. No objection is offered so far as animal behavior is concerned. Nor is there objection to its use in explaining the first steps of child learning. But it is open to objection when applied to children beyond infancy and especially when applied to adults and the complex societal behaviors of adults. In the first place a reflex is too specific and definite a mechanism to explain the varied ramifications of learnings involved in human societies. It serves in certain limited types of situations only. In the second place, human behavior is too complicated as we have already shown to be explained by such a simple formula as "the re-conditioned reflex." Burnham's extended use of it taken literally is assumption, not demonstration. That there are certain tendencies in post-infancy which may relate historically to early conditioned-reflexes as reflected in so-called infantilism may be granted. But this fact does not warrant the free use made of the phrase for scientific explanation of behavior. More research is needed

at this point. Psychiatric data throw some light on this problem but prove nothing conclusively yet.

#### THE PHYSIOLOGICAL GRADIENT: THE INTERRELATIONS OF ORGANS AND TIME

■ THE COURSE ■ time as physiological maturation proceeds, the development of specific organs is controlled by the functioning of certain of the glands. Of the duct glands, the sexual maturation has effects on the physical features commonly understood as the observable changes of adolescence. But the effects of ductless glands though not so readily seen are significant. When normal functioning occurs a child develops a body with normal proportions and normal organs. But if during the period when one or another gland controls maturation there is excessive functioning or defective functioning effects are permanently registered in the structure of the body as well as in functionings. Physical measurements can be interpreted in terms of deviations from indexes of normalcy, and thus a picture of physiological developmental history can ■ inferred, when an actual case-record is lacking. C. M. Child has revealed the fundamental character of the physiological gradient in determining the biological pattern of all kinds of organisms. Endocrinologists have shown the rôle of ductless glands in controlling growth.\*

#### THE ORGANISM AS A BEHAVIOR PATTERN

BIOLOGISTS have long emphasized the relation between form and function. The fins of fishes and the web feet of ducks for swimming; the wings of birds for flying; feet for walking; hands for grasping; all demonstrate that the kinds of behavior an organism reveals depend upon the nature of its organic pattern.

"Human" behavior fundamentally is distinguishable in the organic differences between man and animals. These have been developed in the long course of biological evolution and are: the curvature of the spine which gives man an upright position and freedom of hands, the opposability of thumb and fingers that makes possible not only grasping but

\* *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*, Holt, 1925.

manipulation of fine objects—important in tool-making and tool-handling, the speech organs of the throat, one of the physical bases of communication of a highly complicated order, and the unusual size and complexity of the brain organ. These in combination represent physical potentialities of behavior not possessed by any other animal on this planet. No explanation of behavior can overlook these basic facts.

#### THE INSTINCT THEORY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Ask the average person why we have war and whether we can get rid of wars and more than likely he will reply, "No, we can't get rid of wars. We have always had wars and probably always shall, because man has an instinct to fight. You can't get rid of that." He says there are instincts, of worship, of possession, of curiosity, of play, of sociability. In short, whatever behaviors seem to him to be universal and inexplicable, he accounts for by "instincts." Infants have instincts, children, youths, and adults all have instincts that cause the common forms of behavior. This easy mode of explaining behavior has seeped down from the earlier psychologists and is considered scientific.

But are instincts data or hypotheses? In contrast to McDougall who lists twelve or fourteen different instincts, and the long list of Thorndike, is the short list of J. B. Watson. Institutional psychologists, on the other hand, say that human behavior cannot be explained by instincts so well as by institutions. The general criticism is that instincts are supposed to be fairly well-defined organic behavior patterns but that the behaviors explained by them are too complex to be so simply explained. The writer holds that instincts cannot be found among normal adults. They can be found in infants but are progressively changed into habits and other behavior forms such as wishes. What are called instincts are better called instinctive forms of behaviors, i.e., behaviors that function for quick and successful adjustment in social situations, which are the functions of true instincts.

But these instinctive forms such as habits are acquired under social pressures and are the results of social experience. They are aspects then of human nature rather than of original

nature, though it must be recognized that their basic aspects historically derive from original nature as well as from culture.

How then may we explain the universal forms of behavior? No one can deny that men all over the world mate, rear children, produce foods, trade, play, worship, decorate themselves and their possessions, live in groups, and organize themselves in all sorts of ways.

#### THE UNIVERSAL CULTURE PATTERN

THE universality of human behavior need not hypothecate instincts or original nature elements as an adequate explanation, for there are two other types of data that are more immediate, more objective, and more pertinent. They are: (a) culture is behavior-pattern and imposes or determines explicable behaviors and (b) there is a universal culture pattern. (See *supra*, p. 60)

Traditionally in China boys and girls do not mate freely. If they have instincts to mate, such instincts would be hard to find. But they do mate, not normally nor spontaneously, as mere animals. They mate when and as their familial leadership determines. The marriage mates are selected by the fathers of boys and girls with the help of necromancers. The precipitates of original nature that remain in organic maturation and function in puberty and later are expressed but only when and in such ways as the familial institution or culture allows. We may say then that original nature determines that there shall be sex functioning and procreation but culture determines its occasions and forms. Otherwise even adult behaviors would be mere animal, not human, behaviors.

That explains why, though people mate in all countries, they mate in a great variety of ways; they feed children in all countries, but some feed rice, others oatmeal, some with spoons, and others with chopsticks. That energies express themselves in human behavior is due to organic elements that come from original nature or biological heredity but the occasions and the forms of expression are determined by the factors of time and culture.

## 2. BIOLOGICAL INHERITANCE

## PRINCIPLES OF INHERITANCE

WHILE space forbids an extended presentation of the principles of inheritance, a few of special significance for sociological studies may be noted here. The facts of social evolution together with later biological researches in experimental evolution have shown that Darwin's theories of natural selection as applied to man need correction at almost every point. He said that (a) nature is prodigal; many are produced so that at least a few may survive. Consequently there is a very severe (b) struggle for existence. (c) Variations occur by slight modifications; those changes that have survival value persist, and so (d) the fittest survive (e) Heredity is by pangenesis.

But (a) prodigality disappears among some of the higher animals; elephants are even less prodigal in offspring than man. Today social evolution has produced techniques of birth control which even further limit man's offspring. ■ the earliest stages of human evolution "struggle for survival" did operate for the "survival of the fittest" but more recently these natural processes have been offset by cultural developments. The achievement of a surplus-economy in which man has more than he needs for biological survival reduces the (b) struggle for existence so that social organization and charities and other forms of mutual aid make it possible for multitudes of (d) unfit persons ■ survive. Our hospitals, asylums, and prisons are mass cemeteries ■ this fact.

Concerning (e) heredity, Mendel and others have established the fact that the germ plasma is different from the body or *soma* cells and that the germ cells are continuous but the body cells are discontinuous. Only what affects the germ cells is transmitted from one generation to another and acquired characteristics are not transmitted.

Mendel has shown the existence of independent unit-characters so that the inheritance of one trait does not necessarily mean the inheritance of another. Thus a per-

son may inherit light hair and brown eyes or dark skin — deep pigmentation — and abilities or disabilities. He has shown that some traits are dominant and some recessive and where the genes are known the heritable traits can be predicted. If a pure recessive trait is mated with a pure dominant the second generation from then will show a ratio between them of three to one. That is, twenty-five per cent of the offspring will be pure recessive, twenty-five per cent will be pure dominant, and fifty per cent will be mixed with the dominant trait appearing. But this law cannot be applied to man because the genes are not sufficiently known. All one can say is that when mental defect appears in both parents the chances are high that the offspring will show defect. Or when both parents have noticeable abilities the chances are high that children will also have abilities. Not all children of the defective parents will necessarily be defective nor in the same way and, what many parents do not know but all teachers should, even the best of parents may occasionally have defective offspring as the result of the appearance of some unknown gene or as a biological sport.

As for (c) variations which create genus or specie, instead of slight modifications accumulating until they become large and significant the researches of DeVries have shown that changes may be sudden and great. Why, we do not yet know, but when these great sudden changes have survival value they persist, and such permanent persistences are called mutations.

Finally Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution* has presented evidence from human and other animals to show that the ways of protecting and helping one another through group life releases the individual animal from much of the strain of the struggle for survival. Changes biologically that have made for sociality have increased the power to survive and have also paved the way in human evolution for the protection and care of the less fit members of societies.

#### EDUCATION AND HEREDITY

Now in what ways can education affect biological heredity? According to the Mendelian principle whatever is learned is

acquired and cannot therefore be passed on to the next generation by biological inheritance. There is no evidence that man in the last 50,000 to 100,000 years has added any new adaptive mechanisms. Education cannot directly affect original nature. Therefore every generation has to be educated in its own right. This is possible because of the biological fact that generations overlap and effect contacts between adults who know and children who have to learn. The long infancy of man and the complex culture tools that have to be acquired interact basically in the production of human nature. The period of learning is being extended as life grows more complicated so that whereas in primitive societies biological maturity was coincident with social maturity, today man keeps on learning until he loses his powers through old age and death. Chronological age is not, therefore, the same as social age.

Two implications of the foregoing are: neither teachers nor school systems would be necessary if acquired characteristics were inherited; since they are not, every generation in a sense takes a new start and pushes on to greater achievements than the previous one.

Indirectly, however, educations can affect original nature. Certain learnings may result in poisoning of the germ plasm, as, for example, alcoholism, though this is disputed by some authorities. The stream of life seems to have a vigor sufficient to purify itself in spite of the worst man can do it. But on this question we may well keep an open mind.

#### EUGENICS

THE easiest and most practicable method is through selection of genes in mating. The improvement of food plants through seed selection is a matter of common knowledge. Also most of us are familiar with the astounding improvement of stocks of animals through man's control of their mating. By breeding, pigs are made larger, cattle provide more beef, and cows give more milk. So why should man not improve his breed by selective mating. This is not a new idea in the world, for primitives have selective mating, the Chinese do not allow their children to select

their own mates, and royalty has traditionally married royalty.

Eugenics, the science of being well-born, advocates just such a program. It is known that physical traits such as hair-form and color, eye-form and color, skin color, deafmutism, harelip and cleft palate are hereditary, and perhaps tendencies to respiratory troubles and other diseases. Data also suggest, though perhaps not so certainly, that mental deficiencies and mental capacities are hereditary. Feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, scrofula, and neuropathic tendencies are illustrations of the former; and genius or ability to become scholars, inventors, statesmen, and military men are examples of the latter. But we do not know enough precisely about these matters to be dogmatic, for culture plays a rôle in the production of certain forms of defects and capacities that is frequently assigned to heredity. Studies in eugenics do tend to show that defect or genius seems to run in families but some of the evidence of the extreme eugenicists is open to serious question.

Thus it is claimed that from a fat, lazy Dutchman, good-natured though he was, came a long line of socially undesirable people—the "Jukes." From one of his daughters, "Effie Juke" came many descendants who were paupers; from another "Bell Juke," many who were sexually immoral; and from the third, "Ada Juke," many criminals. But the problem of the rôle of heredity is not so simply analyzed. First, all the genes are not known concerning the so-called original ancestor, therefore the assumption of his responsibility is unwarranted. Secondly, many others with their genes married into the Jukes line so the conclusion simply stated is gratuitous. The lower social-economic classes intermarry and live under conditions conducive to the production of paupers, immoral persons, and criminals, though the definitions of these terms are not precise and are relative to societal norms. And yet there seem to run in certain family lines strains of defects which probably have an hereditary basis. That is the worst we can say with assurance about such as the "Jukes."

Now the societal and economic costs of caring for long



family lines of defective strains are tremendous. If we could somehow affect such heredity, societies could save this money for more constructive purposes. Many of these hereditary traits are not in themselves necessarily disastrous. People can have operations for harelip and can overcome the inferiorities of physical defects of many kinds or even some mental defects. Eugenics and social work have passed beyond the mere alarmist stage and already know many ways of improving defective types through special education, so that they can be independent and orderly citizens. But there are some traits or strains that need permanent institutional care.

#### NEGATIVE EUGENICS

For such as these, idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, and the like, negative eugenics has advocated a program of elimination of the bad strains. Some suggest breeding out the weak strains through intermarriage with the strong. A certain amount of this nature takes care of, but people of strong strains are not yet self-sacrificing enough to approve and follow the suggestion even for the sake of the race as a whole. This might be possible if we had a state policy like that of the ancient Spartans. But under a democratic government and free choice in marriage, it is hopeless to solve the problem in this way.

The other planks of the platform are both practicable and promising if people are educated to appreciate the necessity for them. They are: Prevent defectives from mating with defectives. This can be done by requiring pertinent data for securing marriage licenses. The machinery for gathering such data is not yet available nor are those who issue licenses aware of the need of it. Therefore this is some distance in the future. Another method is to segregate defectives, men and women, during the period of reproductiveness. Some states, as in Pennsylvania, already have laws requiring this. Women are kept in institutions until they have passed the child-bearing age.

But the most hopeful of all methods is that of sterilization. Fifteen states, with California, Nebraska, and Indiana mak-

ing greatest use of them, already have laws requiring this, but frequently the laws are poorly enforced.\* The objections raised are such as to restrain physicians from carrying out the law. But once we can overcome our resistance to over-sentimental attitudes, the enforcement of such laws would aid much in decreasing the number of defectives, especially the most incapable type. As a matter of fact sterilization of men is a fairly simple surgical operation and can be done without injury to persons or serious interference with their regular duties. For women it is more difficult, being as yet a major surgical operation; but surgeons are at work on the problem and hope to discover methods that will be comparable to that for men. Education that secures such laws and gets people to support them thus affects biological heredity in cutting off weak strains.

#### POSITIVE EUGENICS

Positive eugenics demands that good strains be mated only with good strains. Advocates point to the famous line that sprang from Jonathan Edwards, with its college presidents, professors, lawyers, statesmen, to the "First Families" of Virginia, such as that of Robert E. Lee, and to the Kentucky aristocracy. But here again the precise genes are not known nor the rôle of environment. But people of higher social economic levels do tend to intermarry and this social selection tends to show lines of ability. Thorndike has found a high positive correlation between wealth and ability, but this would not necessarily apply to persons who inherited their wealth through several generations. In a free environment with opportunity for all to rise economically, and a fairly stable type of society through a long period of time, the capable ones would tend to rise into the higher economic levels. But there are always catastrophes that interfere with such natural processes. It is impossible to say that, because a man is poor at a particular time, he is *ipso facto* devoid of any ability. Too many societal factors enter into the causation of his status.

The theory of positive eugenics is sound biologically but

\* Loughlin, H. H., *Segregated Sterilization in the United States*, Chicago 1928, p. 97.

social practice is against it. Wherever people are educated to appreciate this theory and choose their mates on that basis, then education affects heredity. But unfortunately, for this program, romantic love still holds sufficient sway to negate its effects. People are still shocked by the idea of choosing a mate deliberately for purposes of well-born offspring. And yet why should they be shocked? The fact ■ mothers and daughters commonly inquire into the financial, family, and social status of prospective mates; why not into their heredity? But literature and the movies perpetuate the ideal of mating at love-at-first-sight with no questions asked, for the "if-they-really-love-each-other, what-more-is-there-to-be-said?" attitude is still quite common. So uncommon is eugenic mating that when it occurs it is "news."

Therefore, it would seem that for the present the program of negative eugenics is more practicable, but persistent educations on the positive side may well help to build up favorable attitudes to selective mating for abilities. Love and marriage have not yet "grown up" in the United States but there are some signs at least of post-adolescence. The next generation with better grounding in biological sciences may well carry forward this program, both positive and negative, to surprising lengths.

#### EVIDENCE AND SMITH CONTINUED

ONE of the commonest objections to birth control is that it cuts off desirable strains. There is evidence that the higher social and economic classes do practice birth control. If they carry the better biological strains then the contention is correct. The birth rates of completed American families were found by Baber and Ross to be too low to replace themselves. Some cry, "Birth control means race suicide!" and point to the small families of college graduates and the large families and high birth rates of poor people. There is no doubt of rapid proliferation among the poorer families nor that the Rooseveltian family ideal is a matter of laughter among many intellectuals. But there is no cause for alarm in the matter ■ "family suicide" or of "race suicide."

The roster of college graduates contains names quite un-

familiar to our forebears who thought the parents of these same college graduates inferior and incapable. Again it must be emphasized that we do not know enough about the genes of families to make inviscious comparisons in terms of "race" or status or "family." Only the person who is ignorant of biology and sociology is surprised to find these descendants of immigrants successful in college and university or in business and profession.

The answer to these objectionists would seem to be, "Make birth control available to the poor as well as to the rich." That would decrease excessive proliferation and provide better opportunity for the fewer children in the poorer families.\* The slogan of the birth control movement "Fewer and better babies" generally supports the eugenics program. Besides mankind cannot continue to proliferate naturally without overpopulating the world. Already overpopulation is a cause of international rivalry and war †

#### SELECTIVE FACTORS IN HEREDITY

Of the various factors that selectively influence heredity only a few may be mentioned. Geographical isolation sometimes results in inbreeding of traits: the frequency of feeble-mindedness on Swan's Island, Maine; the deaf-mute colony in Western Martha's Vineyard; the non-fused folk on Block Island, R. I.; dwarfs and cripples in the hills of New York; criminals, mental defectives, and albino types in the valley pockets of Tennessee and Kentucky.

Social isolation may operate similarly in the inbreeding of deaf-mutes, of races, of religious sects, or of criminal types, though the last two categories may have no relation to biology.

Migrations or immigrations are selective influences though they operate favorably or unfavorably. The early movement into America brought with the courageous defenders

\* The Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, the American Unitarian Association, the American Unitarian Church, the Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis, and large sections of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have all within the last three years adopted birth control as an important means of social betterment. — *New York Times*.

† Thompson, W. S., *Danger Spots on World Population*, N. Y. 1930, Chap. I, pp. 134 ff.

of religious liberty criminals and ne'er-do-wells who were exiled. But the rigors of the pioneer environment certainly tended to select out the most hardy types.

Occupations have selective influences, depending upon the amount of ability necessary to carry them on. Thus the machine moron, the man of relatively low mental ability, who can operate simple mechanical processes successfully, is selected from the population, holds a definite social status, and tends to intermarry with others of his class. Those who come from the country to the city are either the changelings, the farm failures, or youth of genius seeking opportunity. Many contend that men of genius are geniuses because they come from the country; but the studies of Odin, Galton, Ward, and others show that it is nearer the truth to say because they come from the country. The rich culture of city life affords ability a chance to express itself, while "full many a flower is born to blush unseen, and waste its sweetness on the desert air."

Finally, war is probably one of the greatest selective agencies in modern life. It is not the old, decrepit, and useless types who are sent to the front, but the flower of the nation's manhood. Biologically they are the best of the nation's blood. When war cuts deep inroads into the population as it has in France and Germany and England, the women must mate with those that remain unskilled, many of whom were physically unfit to stand the strain of warfare. Before the Napoleonic Wars French men were tall; since then they have tended to be short in stature.

### 3. DIFFERENCES IN ORIGINAL NATURE

THE combination of genes through insect-marriage of different family lines all persons are born different, with the possible exception of identical twins. This is the biological basis of personality uniqueness. While it is difficult at present to distinguish the precise differences of people which are innate, for many differences are the results of post-natal environmental influences, nevertheless heredity does determine some of these variations. Without attempting here to ex-

plain the origins of these differences, whether they come from heredity or physiological development or environmental factors, we may note the facts of differences that create individuality of pupils with special reference to those traits that are in a major way biologically determined.

#### INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

ANTHROPOMETRY, the science of measuring man's bodily traits—a subsience of anthropology—establishes beyond question the fact of differences in bodily structure. Psychology through its use of tests has shown that people vary in their mental capacities. Though we cannot be sure how much of mentality at any given moment is due to environment rather than heredity, we do know that very high and very low indexes of mental capacity indirectly reveal innate characteristics. For those cases that cluster immediately above and below 100 I.Q., all we can say is that the heredity is there but we cannot yet clearly and certainly analyze it out of the total complex of behavior. Measurements of emotions, temperamental differences, and the will have been made with varying degrees of success but they do show differences.

All of us have made crude classifications of the people we know. There is what might be called the kindergarten mind, whose chief interests are food and sex; the baseball mind—jazz; the movie mind—newspapers (principally tabloids if available) and cross-word puzzles; the ticker mind—radio and motoring; and the thinking mind—inquiry, books, and magazines. Just as nature produced people that may be classed together because of sufficient similarities and called "races" or "sexes," so those less overt aspects of the physical organism, the ductless glands, the neuro-muscular mechanism, can safely be assumed to differ, particularly in view of the findings of psychology and endocrinology (the science that studies the ductless glands).

#### SEX DIFFERENCES

ORGANIC differences distinguish men and women but because of this fact certain fallacies arise. Doubtless certain

differences closely associated with sex organs also exist but our knowledge here is not too certain. Some have claimed significant emotional differences between men and women but the claim is not sufficiently proved. Women are supposed to be intuitive and men ineffectual. But if we define intuition as a quick and successful mobilization of past experiences or cleverness in dealing with crisis situations men in their fields of experience reveal intuitions. Thus women have intuitions in the field of experience with which they are familiar—the home, children, husbands, and the like, and because that is not the field of major experience of men they tend to be impressed when women's wisdom is revealed. Sometimes men are more clever in handling children than women, and now that women are entering business and professional fields they too are exhibiting cleverness where only men were supposed to be clever.

While persons differ in their mental capacities it has been claimed that men generally have higher mentality than women. Recent studies\* have shown that mental and emotional differences are individual matters and not characteristic of one or the other sex. The assumed inferiority of women has a historical basis, for when through war women were taken captive they traditionally played an inferior rôle. Men have generally ruled societies and thereby arrogated to themselves the superior status. But the recent feminist movement has thoroughly challenged such assumptions and experience and investigations are giving the lie to superiority of men over women, as mutually determined. In many cases men have been superior because tradition assigned and prescribed a limited and inferior rôle to women. Girls are supposed to play with dolls and boys with mechanical toys. Until recently it was considered indecent for girls to romp and play and to participate in games and athletics. Nor were they supposed to aspire to knowledge and the legal and social status of men. But that day is past, for in most countries of the world women have secured at least a real beginning of equality with men.

\* Allen, C. N., "Recent Studies in Sex Differences," *Psychological Bulletin*, 27: 594-607. A first specimen of the *Quarterly* with 237 letters since 1927.

It is a question, too, whether the so-called physical inferiority of women is a necessary concomitant of sex. It does occur, but in those societies where men have the upper hand and pamper their women, which results in physical enervation and deterioration, not innately but as a result of environmental conditions. Consider the physical differences between the fat, opulent lady who at ten in the morning rides down Fifth Avenue in her husband's limousine, carrying her prize poodle in her lap, and the women on the Yangtze River sculling the ferry day after day, or those knee-deep in rice fields planting or springing, or those in Russian factories working side by side with men, or even our own women who during war time took up physical work for which they were previously considered unfit.

Even yet in our school systems there is an attitude of opposition to women studying school administration because it is difficult for them to find positions. In the better paid occupations men have always tended to displace women but this will probably change as time demonstrates women's abilities. The capacities of females, then, are to be determined in each instance and not by reference to any generality concerning abilities or disabilities of men or women.

#### RACIAL DIFFERENCES

Even more sinister in their social effects than the fallacies of sex differences are the myths of race. One does not deny the fact of physical differences enough to establish physical types but there is no such thing in the world today as a "pure race." All physical types of man are the results of long amalgamation. The classifications have been made for purposes of scientific convenience but unfortunately lay people think they represent realities and build up attitudes for or against "races." Because of "race differences" it has been assumed that certain physical traits are associated with emotional and mental abilities, which are inborn. Thus Nordics—light hair, blue eyes, ruddy skin, and robust—are said to be superior to those with black skin, brown eyes, black kinky hair, large stature—the Negroes, some of whose ancestors as Ethiopians created the great civilization on the Nile and



in parts of primitive Africa achieved a governmental organization quite similar to Feudal Europe; superior to those with Mongolian eyes, straight black hair, and "yellow" skin — the Chinese, whose ancestors achieved a very high culture, mathematics, monotheism, philosophy, centralized government, and the like, while the Nordic ancestors roamed the forests of Northern Europe and worshipped trees; superior to those olive-skinned, brown-eyed, short Mediterraneans who created the culture of Crete, the grace that was Athens and the glory that was Rome; in short, superior to all types anywhere in the world! So we read of the "Yellow Peril" not as gold but as the Oriental who some day may threaten our supremacy.

Such myths would be amusing if they were not so dangerous. They are folk-wishes, not scientific facts. According to Mendel's theory of independent unit-characters, no one physical trait involves another or any type of mental or emotional traits, so far as heredity is concerned. There are some associations but they are results of physiological growths. The assumed superiority of Europeans has come from culture contacts and their unusual development in machines, particularly fighting machines; but the Japanese in defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War gave this myth a mighty jolt. Study after study has been made to show that Negro pupils or Philippine pupils are inferior to white pupils, but no differences have been secured that could not be explained by handicaps of tradition or defective environmental factors. The least the teacher can do is to have an open mind and not commit himself to race prejudice which may seriously threaten his best work with pupils of non-Nordic types.

The so-called emotionality of Negroes may be matched by that of Italians or even French; the *sung-froid* of Chinese by that of Swedes. No, as a rule these differences assigned to race are tools whereby we hope to establish our own superior status by subordinating any others over whom we may have any power to an inferior position. When Chinese are not present we use Negroes; when Negroes are not present, we use immigrants; when we do not have them we use the black sheep of our own families; and if even they are lacking we

create inferior persons in our imaginations. Climb we must, so we hoist ourselves upon the shoulders of any people who can be exploited for the purpose. Neither biology, anthropology, psychology, nor sociology gives aid or comfort to these attitudes of race prejudice or social distance. They are the stuff of ignorance and of mobbishness and make for human inadequacies and sufferings, conflicts, or wars. Especially out of place are they in a world full of all kinds of people brought close together by modern inventions of transportation and communication. Whether we shall live in peace or by the sword will be partly determined by the absence or presence of race prejudice. Some types may gain a military superiority or a culture superiority for a time, but those below will sooner or later rebel against subordination, be they white, brown, black, or yellow. We may pay our money and take our choice between peace and war, but teachers may well free themselves from unscientific attitudes of race prejudice in the interests of increasing tolerances of all kinds.

#### SUMMARY

- (a) Differences exist but they must be determined in each case for male or female or any physical type. What they are specifically must be proved, not assumed.
- (b) The differences between members of the same group, race, sex, or class are greater than those between different groups, races, or classes. Do not compare the low of one group with the high of another.
- (c) There is no proved correlation of a positive kind between any single physical trait and mental capacity. A person may be mentally capable no matter what his color or sex.
- (d) Organic differences of sex show no proved positive correlation with mental capacities.
- (e) Differences in groups do exist, but frequently they are due only in a minor way to original nature.

All of which means that teachers can expect to find ability or defect wherever they look for it, among Negroes, Mexicans,

Chinese, Italians, or boys or girls. It is for them to discover ability and to provide opportunity for its fullest expression and development, or to discover defect, and to compensate it in all possible ways. No superintendent should appoint any teacher who has attitudes of social distance toward any types of people or boys or girls; but unfortunately many school administrators are themselves not free from race and sex prejudice.

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#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what ways does the fallacy of unchanging "human" nature lead to erroneous conclusions in educational theory or practice? (For example, consider prevalent attitudes of teachers or administrators toward school "poor" and explanations of behaviors of such problem pupils.)
2. What destroyed the ancient theories of animal behavior?
3. What precisely are some educational errors due to the application of findings on animal nature to pupils?
4. Can you cite an instance of specific conditioning of a pre-school child which produced new and "unnatural" behavior?
5. What evidences can you marshal "for" and what "against" the "instinct" theory of pupil behavior?
6. Just how does a universal culture pattern produce universal behaviors of man?
7. Upon what biological principles are the eugenic ideals based? What are the defects in eugenic policy?
8. Can you indicate the inaccuracy of the attitude against birth control which condemns it as interference with divine laws? (For example, think into the implications of engineering.)
9. How would you sum up the issue of individual differences of sex and race?
10. List fallacies in educational policy and practices due to erroneous notions of such differences.

#### EXERCISE

Write out a brief case illustration of the significance of SEM in your own experience.

## CHAPTER VI

### HUMAN NATURE

#### 1. SOCIETAL MECHANISMS OF CONTROL

**T**HUS far we have considered the basic aspects of personality in biological heredity. We have defined original nature and corrected certain fallacies concerning it. We have pointed out that it constitutes one type of "raw materials" of personality. And we have shown how limited educations are to affect original nature through a direct attack. The next step is to show (a) that culture is another set of "raw materials" entering into the growth of personality and (b) how the child becomes human by developing behaviors demanded by social worlds and characteristic of persons; and (c) that education controls human nature through culture. In fact, the remainder of this book will contribute directly and indirectly to these three purposes.

We may restate our formula for personality by saying that personality is the function of three variables: biological heredity (*DN*), societal heredity (*G*), and personal experience (*JEM*). Since each of these may differ, each personality reveals a margin of uniqueness that makes the problem of educating general in some aspects but particular in others. The contention is that the particularities that necessitate differential analysis and teaching are more difficult to discover than the similarities which may be handled by mass education. Therefore, educators need training not only in discovering the common traits of human nature that may be expressed in statistical correlations that establish laws of

learning or forgetting, but also in methods of manipulating social situations to control personal growth. To control personal growth deliberately we need to know as much as possible about the characteristics of societal pressures or the mechanisms of control that people have developed in the long course of their cultural evolution.

#### SOCIETAL PRESSURES \*

SOCIOLOGICALLY "pressures" are devices and conditions whereby some people restrain, constrain, or coerce others in order to influence deliberately their behaviors. Processes and structures of societies operate in all sorts of ways to direct and control us. Seldom, if ever, is a human being uninfluenced by some group of other people either directly or indirectly. A pupil attends assembly, not because he wishes to particularly, but because of a rule of the school that requires him to. When he is in the assembly meeting he may want to leave but the expectations of the group, what they may do or say, restrain him. He does not arise and shout or dance, because he knows "it isn't done." He sits quietly listening, or reading, or studying, or writing letters, or thinking of home, of friends or gang; his wishes, ideas, or feelings are being formed in terms of those groups.

When groups thus control behavior, we say the group is *ascendant*. "Followship" is always an aspect of group ascendancy. The person may still show a margin of independence but in general he conforms to the dominant behaviors of his groups and social worlds. Since we are never entirely out of our groups we are always being more or less controlled by others. Even when we try to revolt against group control, we are nevertheless by that very act revealing group influence on us.

Leadership, on the other hand, is a form of "personal

\* Let the student keep in mind the distinction between "social" and "societal." The term "social" is applied to groups of limited size, such as friend-groups, cliques, gangs, family, neighborhood and school groups, and the like. The term "societal" is more accurate to denote large and extensive groupings such as communities, denominations, parties, nations, leagues, and the like. Under this distinction a school staff or faculty would be a social group but a city, state, or national educational association would be societal. "Social" is, then, merely a limited phase of "societal."

ascendancy" wherein group control is minimized for the leader and yet even then the group influences him. Every group speaks to itself through its leader, otherwise the members would "walk out on him" or in other ways show their disapproval. Any leader or speaker of a group constantly is alert to detect the various signs by which his audience indicates approval or disapproval, and he constantly adapts himself to the suggestions of these signs. Otherwise his leadership is soon over. It was said of Lincoln, "He keeps his ear to the ground." "The voice of the people is the voice of God," is another popular expression of ways in which leaders are influenced by their "followerships."

Now these "ways" that people have of doing things influence us by suggestion and imitation. We all live in a milieu of tradition and conventionality characteristic of our societies or social worlds. The "ways" define for us the kinds of behaviors that we may express and not be punished.

Sometimes groups exert pressures in different directions and then a person influenced finds it difficult to express the proper behaviors on all occasions. For example, a child of an Italian family living in an immigrant colony and thereby coming into constant contact with other Italians is surrounded with his old-world culture. The customs, clothes, speech, and sanctions and prohibitions guide him in his choices. But when he goes to school none of these are expected. He takes on then the speech, clothes, manners, and ideals of the alien group but in the process errs in many points.

■ should not surprise us, therefore, to realize that "delinquency" rates are high for children of immigrant families. These children are torn between two cultures, especially since compulsory attendance at our public schools speeds up the processes of change from the Italian to the American culture. ■ ■ wise so to speed up assimilation and ■ break up immigrant colonies by artificial processes? Or would it be better to allow assimilation to occur more naturally? Do settlement and school pageants of native culture aid in developing respect for their parents through inspiring respect for their culture? If all the Americans they come into

contact with consider Italian culture inferior, etc the conflicts between Italian children and their parents not inevitable? The same may be said of any other immigrant culture group, such as Mexicans, Japanese, or even Negroes recently migrated in the North.

In Chapter II we analyzed institutions and pointed out how their sanctions and punishments operated to preserve successful adjustments to group crises and to cause youth to conform. Directly and indirectly education exercises pressures to safeguard societal communities and so provide needed improvements through inventions. The student should at this point re-read that chapter from the point of view that customs, institutions, and laws are organized methods of societal control: at the same time he should keep in mind the history and present status of education as a societal institution. At every step during the day our behaviors are guided by these definitions expressed in sanctions and punishments of the customs, or the institutions, or the laws. Let the student think back through the experiences of a week and list every instance of behavior that was not influenced by one or another of these mechanisms. Let him discover the amount of his own individuality by listing also what he has invented in manners, clothes, speech, attitudes, or ideals. Then he can appreciate how much of his behavior is "institutionally" determined.

As indicated earlier, it gets us nowhere to argue that "a man on a desert isle . . ." for our pupils do not live on desert isles and we deal with them as they are, living with people and participating in institutions.

#### ORGANIZATIONS AS CONTROL MECHANISMS

Every group develops some degree and type of organization or it has any history at all. Even boys' gangs and girls' cliques develop organization. There is leadership with its implications of what the leader is expected by the gang to do in type situations, there are division of labor, definition of status, and integration of authority, which is what the leader expects of the followers. The same is true of other organizations, schools, offices, department stores, athletic teams,



clubs, dramatic societies, and the like. Only in these more fully developed types the features of organization are more precise and formal. An extreme illustration is the military organization. Here every move is pre-determined and defined in the manual of arms and everyone in the organization ideally knows what is expected of every other member of the group. There is no such thing as freedom, one does what is expected and that's that. Civil life differs from this mainly in degree, for after all our so-called freedom is hard to find when our law-factories actually grind out laws by the thousands.

Other societal patterns of behavior that surround us on every hand are ceremonies, myths, rituals, dogmas, creeds, ethics—professional and other trade-union rules, public opinion and the like. Variations occur in occasional inventions that are approved but compared to the bulk of standard conforming behavior they appear insignificant. That they are somewhat important is evidenced by the fact that they influence us through our imitation of them.

#### CULTURE AS BEHAVIOR PATTERN

ALL THE foregoing might readily be summed up in the phrase "influence of culture." Chapter III, Part 2, presented an extended discussion of characteristics of culture, with reference to a universal culture pattern. The point was made that universality of human behavior could possibly be explained better by a universal culture pattern than by "instincts," since the former can be objectively verified for adult human beings, whereas the latter cannot. The great similarities of human behavior are founded upon this world-wide culture pattern.

As people's behaviors everywhere reflect the cultures they live in and as the details of the pattern vary in different places, at different times, and with different people, behaviors are found to vary. Is this not evidence that culture determines kinds and occasions of behavior?

But consider more immediate instances. If a graduate of a high school desires to enter teaching, she finds her way

laid out for her. State law set standards and requirements of normal schools and teachers' colleges. The time and mode of registration, the courses to be taken, the schedule of classes, the locations of meeting places, the materials to be acquired, the examinations to be passed all become highly stereotyped, fixed modes of behavior that may allow only occasional and slight variations. About all that is left for so-called freedom is the opportunity to choose between certain limited alternatives. By expressing the expected behaviors day by day as closely as possible to the norms established as desirable or approved—defined as “grades”—preparation for teaching is finally completed. The diploma or degree is granted, a license from the state signifies capability for teaching according to the prescriptions set down, appointment is secured, and teaching begins according, again, to the rules and procedures that obtain in any school system.

The same is true of any other profession or trade. In engineering there are handbooks replete with formulas designed to tell the engineer at every step how to solve his problem. Apprenticeship in a trade is the learning of the accepted modes of doing the work and where the outcome bears closely upon human health or safety the prescriptions are strictly enforced by special societal devices of coercion. Thus plumbers are licensed to show they know and can perform the established methods of plumbing. Drivers of automobiles are licensed to prove they can operate cars in the way that people will expect them to and so will not threaten the lives and property of others.

Thus our behaviors are determined by our tools, whether they are formulas or machines. To produce correlations between two sets of data, there are certain “best” methods, and unless one uses these methods the results are not accepted as reliable. The behaviors of running a motor car are fixed in every instance by the nature of the machine. The steering wheel, the instrument board, the emergency brake, the windows, and parts of the car body fix the behaviors of our hands and arms, and the pedals, those of our feet. Every door, every pencil or book, every stairway is a tool of human ad-

justment; behaviors are predetermined by the very nature of the invention that has been found most effectively to secure the needed adjustment.

Sometimes one may choose this door rather than that, or one road rather than another but the door or road must lead us to a destination. These choices have led us to conclude that we are free in our "will," but even our choices are largely determined by both the processes of social control and the structures with which we have surrounded ourselves. "Free will" becomes a very elusive privilege. It would seem that in our relations to our natural environment at least there is "free will," but a moment's consideration will reveal the fact that (a) our cultural buffers against nature are so thick that they reduce greatly its effects in both number and quality and that (b) our adjustments to, or uses of, nature are made with reference to societal expectations or group norms.

#### SUMMARY

THE FOREGOING may be summed up as follows:

(a) Group pressures are always operating directly or indirectly upon all persons.

(b) Such pressures may take the form of societal processes or of structures, such as social organizations, or of culture tools.

(c) In processes the pressures take the form of rewards and punishments; in organizations, they take the form of fixed relations that prescribe status and behavior; in culture tools, suggestions of what to do to use the tools.

(d) Societal pressures have "direction" toward what is "totemic" or sanctioned and away from "taboos" or what is disapproved.

(e) Societal pressures are factors that determine how culture enters into the development of pupils' personalities.

Man is born an animal plus capacities to acquire culture through learning. The resultant of his acquisition of culture during his physiological growth is human nature. Educations make this non-animal human; his culture is what marks him distinguishably from animals.

But more precisely how do these societal pressures affect growth and enter into the genesis of a "person"?

## 2. GROUPS AND SELVES

HUMAN beings are born in groups, grow in groups, and die in groups; ever and always are they members of groups. They lose their grouphood when they are dead and in the morgue or cemetery they are "classes" or "types" (Why, will be explained later when we are particularly concerned with sociological definitions of groups.) Being born in groups and always living in groups, they are controlled by these groups in varying ways and to various degrees. Typical birth-groups are maternity or ordinary hospitals, and families. From the moment of birth social pressures begin to operate, the physician may speak the new-born infant to make him draw his first breath, then nurses, parents, relatives, teachers, associates, friends, doctors, lawyers, ministers, policemen, judges, editors, and tax-collectors carry on until finally the undertaker enters in and applies the post-mortem expressions of societal pressures in "proper" burial.

### THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SELF

THE GROUPS into which an infant is first thrown are primary groups characterized by primary contacts. That is, they are face-to-face groups, in which contacts are many, immediate, direct, and exceedingly effective because they utilize in communication the maximum number of senses. Members of family groups, particularly mother and child, are in constant or "thick" contact. Such primary contacts are nature's provision for optimum conditions of child learning and so far man has discovered no substitute long-range or correspondence care for infants, for these continuous, intimate relations of mothers or nurses and infants. In communication between infant and adult not only sight but the senses of smell, hearing, temperature, pressure, pain, and equilibrium and the like are operating and thereby increase the efficacy of the communications.

Under such conditions of thick primary contacts the child

begins his growth and develops his first social experiences. Limited at the very beginning of his existence to mere reflexive behaviors of vegetative physiological functionings and more times than not needing to be taught how to take nourishment, he gradually increases the numbers, kinds, and ranges of his behaviors as his maturation proceeds. After a brief period of merely gross bodily movements, opening and closing fingers, moving arms, legs, and toes, rolling head from side to side, and the like, he begins to grasp parts of his own body, then things about him such as clothes, side of his basket or bed, rattles or other objects that are within range of his movements. This manipulation of objects increases in variety and efficiency, but on each and every occasion there is a psychological and sociological aspect to the situation of the infant's behavior. The psychological fact is that his manipulation is accompanied by certain feelings or "emotional overtones," which are then associated with the object manipulated. The sociological fact is that his manipulation is "regarded" by other persons, evaluated as "good" or "bad." If "good" the mother or the nurse smiles, croons, or pats the infant; if "bad" she frowns, scolds, or otherwise "punishes" the child. The infant soon learns by the approvals or punishments of his constant companions in early years what he may and what he may not manipulate. When approved in his manipulations he continues and establishes habits which enable him to organize his feelings around the objects and to identify himself and his feelings with the objects. He projects himself by such identification into the objects and regards them as much a part of him as his fingers or hands that perform the manipulations. The objects thus become a part of his emerging personality.

But under what conditions does his distinction between himself and his objects and other selves and their objects arise?

We can best perhaps suggest a theory by observing typical child situations. First we must note that probably there is no true emergent self until the child achieves words. For by words he expresses and symbolizes the phenomena de-

scribed above. By hearing others say the words for him at the time he manipulates things such as rattles, teething rings, and the like, he adds to his identification of movements, feelings, objects, words such as "me," "mine," and the like.

Let us suppose that at this stage in his development the mother puts him on the floor to crawl about. Let us also suppose that in that same room is another child two years older. The older one has been playing with "my playthings," from his own point of view and "his playthings" from the mother's point of view. The older child has abandoned a toy car with bright colors and is busy elsewhere with another toy.

The infant ranging about with his eyes is attracted by the bright colors because of the light reflections, crawls to the car and grasps it. The older one turns, notices what has happened, and runs to the infant and grabs the toy from the infant's hand, exclaiming, "No, not yours. Mine." Because he has gone through the identification process before, he thus symbolizes his objects as himself, and resists this attack of the infant upon his own personality.

Many such conflicts between infants and others over objects already identified with older persons and about to be similarly identified by the younger ones, brings a gradual appreciation of the meanings of words such as "I," "me," "mine," "myself" as applicable to one's own things (projections of his own feelings) and "you" and "yours" as symbolic of others' possessions. In such distinctions the self emerges distinct from other selves in the social situation. These early learnings serve the person throughout life for distinctions in terms of one's own property — body, clothes, houses, land, chattels, ideas, and the like — are constantly being made by adults.

If this is correct, conflict plays an important rôle in the first emergence of the child's self and the further distinguishing of "myself" from other selves. Therefore a family situation favorable to such development would be one occupied by older children as companions who, having similar experiences near to the level of the growing child, transmit

the interpretations, definitions, and language forms from the adult world to the growing infant.

That is one reason why the eldest child of a family so frequently has "difficulties" or "kinks" which persist to later life or why an only child reveals marked peculiarities when compared to those who have grown up with brothers and sisters. Furthermore, it would appear important to provide the growing child with things that he can call his own into which he can project his feelings and by identification with himself distinguish what is his from what is another's.

Passing down from older to younger children playthings or clothes would seem to hamper the desirable outcomes from the experiences described, for serious readjustments in personality identifications have to be made at a time when the processes are only vaguely perceived by both older and younger children. Absolute and permanent ownership would seem to promote optimum experiences at these early stages of child growth. The culture tools that the child has learned to use for self-expression or self-adjustment should be ready for his use as he needs them. Otherwise life for him is complicated, errors in choices increase unduly, and unlikely tendencies are accentuated. By possession he develops a sense of competency, a general feeling of satisfaction and healthy experiences.

At this point, then, Self may be defined as a complex of behaviors combined with objects, feelings, and words that name the combinations with labels of ownership and distinguish "myself" from "yourself." Is a "self" the same as personality? If not, how does it differ from and how does it relate to personality? What is personality?

#### PERSONALITY AND THE VARIOUS SELVES

THESE processes continue in number and variety and produce experiences characteristic of very young children. The mastery of speech is especially significant because through it the child increasingly not only symbolizes his experiences but also acquires an understanding of the meanings and interpretations and values that other persons put upon his ex-

periences. By the time the child is old enough to enter school, unless mentally defective, his speech and other behaviors reveal that he has developed not one but several selves and the beginnings of personality. He has already participated in various groups and sometimes even in several social worlds and has already developed speech, behavior patterns, ideals, and meanings that reflect what is expected of him by the various groups or social worlds. Not a mere bundle of instincts is this child who enters school in the primary grades; nor even he who enters kindergarten. He is already a complex of selves, which we may call his personality.

#### THE NAÏVE SELF

THE HABITS and their concomitant emotional organizations, or sentiments, create tendencies to certain behaviors — those that have been habituated under societal control are established not only in the neural connections but also in the societal approvals to which the child has learned to become sensitive. The totality of habits may be called the "naïve self."

#### THE MIRROR SELF

THE MIRROR or "looking-glass self," as Cooley and Ross have called it, is the picture we see of ourselves "in the eyes of others." That is, a child looks to those about him to discover what signs they show of approval or disapproval. It is not what the child thinks of himself nor is it what others think of him. It is what the child thinks others think of him. He may be right or wrong in his conception of what others are thinking of him at the moment. That we frequently wrongly interpret what others think of us, and some of us do this very often, explains the phrase "having a chip on one's shoulder."

Naturally the more closely the child's mirror self approximates the picture that others have of him the better will he be able to adjust himself in his social relationships. But frequently it is impossible for the child to have correct interpretations of others' conception of him because they "play-act" and pretend — wear masks — and let the child think they think of him in ways other than they really do. When



the child looks into the faces of others to see himself as in a mirror, all too often he is looking into a distorted mirror. This may be illustrated by the effects one gets in looking into a convex or concave or wavy mirror surface. The image of himself is distorted, thin or fat or vague and uncertain. The image is not a true reflection of reality. If people who associate with children are dishonest in their revelations of their conception or judgment of children, how can children have mirror selves that reflect realities rather than fictions? Should adults be honest with children no matter how it hurts? Do polite and complimentary behaviors of adults frequently make it impossible for children to have correct conceptions of societal valuations of their behaviors? When they meet with smiles from mother for behavior that others would condemn does that build up tendencies toward erroneous conceptions of social and societal values that mislead children? Since people generally are so ignorant of facts of child nurture, is it not necessary for teachers to present in their behaviors toward pupils true and accurate mirrors?

#### THE SOCIAL SELF

THE SOCIAL self is the identification of one's self with the selves of other people. The process is similar to that already described with reference to identification with objects. When a child does something that is approved by others, his emotions become organized around such persons. So to speak, he takes them on, makes them a part of himself. In a social situation, say of twenty people in a classroom, if a child is accepted by them all, he tends to identify himself with them all. Thus we might say he expands himself by twenty. If ten accept and ten do not, he expands by ten. If by none, then there is no projection of his self to others. He is alone, isolated. Thus the social self expands and contracts according to the degree to which associates or others approve or disapprove him.

The foregoing is well illustrated in the behaviors of a pupil. For example, a child is called before the class and praised. His physical posture is erect, head up, chest out, glance direct toward others. Very retiring children may be

embarrassed. If such approval is unusual and they pretend and show behavior at variance to the normal described above. On the other hand the same child is stood up before his class or is reprimanded or scolded before them all. His physical posture will normally be quite different from that in the former instance. His head drops, his chest draws in. He withdraws from everybody. Sometimes a child will bluff it off and swagger as a technique of defense against the attack of the group, particularly if the other children approve of him in spite of the teacher's condemnation.

The social self and the mirror self are not always clearly differentiated because the expansion or contraction of the social self depends upon the pictures the child sees of himself when he interprets the behaviors of others toward him.

#### THE OBJECTIVE SELF

WHAT others actually do think about one is the objective self. Politeness and the general tendency to observe the amenities of life cause people to wear masks and pretend, so frequently it is difficult to form true pictures of our objective selves. Among children there is a tendency to frankness even to the point of cruelty. But however short the contact, others are constantly forming correct or incorrect pictures of us and those pictures they have enter into the determination of their behaviors toward us. What the teacher and principal and parents and other children think of a pupil is then his objective self. For present purposes we may say the objective self as revealed may be considered the mirror into which the child looks. But again we must remember that there may be more than one objective self at any given moment: (a) what the other person actually thinks, and (b) what he gives the appearance of thinking. If he shows what he actually thinks then the mirror is clear and accurate and dependable, and the child can get a mirror self that effectually functions in adequate adjustment. Otherwise he mistakes the play-acting for truth and is misled.

## THE IDEAL SELF

WHEN A boy looks into an actual mirror and sees himself arrayed in the uniform of a Boy Scout, or later after he has joined the Scouts and has on his uniform, sees it bedecked with badges and medals, he is viewing his ideal self. It is that picture of himself as he most wants himself to be.

Rarely do people have but one ideal self. Rather do they have many ideal selves that fit them most satisfactorily into the groups or social worlds in which they live. Further, the ideal selves change from time to time. But all normal persons beyond infancy have ideal selves. For the young child it may be that of cuddling in mother's lap or playing with other children. Later it may take vocational forms, as when a girl says she is going to be a nurse or a boy that he wants to be a policeman. How often does children's dramatic play reveal these ideal selves?

How does the ideal self develop? It grows through the learnings by the child of the types of people, their ways of acting, and the things they use which are sanctioned. Theoretically and ideally, it is the absorption by the child of the approved attitudes and ideals and behaviors that surround him in his social world, first the family, then the neighborhood, play groups and the like, then the school and finally community groups. It makes up his personal scheme of values and evaluations pictured as bringing him approved social status. From another point of view, the ideal self is that social status which he desires; at least it is a technic of securing the desired social status. But it always conforms to the norms and standards of the group in which he participates. The ideal self has historically been conceived of as conscience. It is the totality of personal totems and taboos. It comprises not only the things the person would do but also those he would not. And he would not do those things condemned by his social world or a particular group in it because they are condemned by others. If he did them he would lose social status, be isolated or otherwise punished, and would suffer contraction of his social self.

The ideal self is then an achievement, a result of learn-

ings in societies, a product of all sorts of educations. It is the mark of humanity, the tool of successful personal adjustment.

#### THE MAKING OF CHOICES

IN THE making of any choice these several selves interact and produce an instance of behavior. Most of our behavior does not involve choice-making, because being habitistic it is direct, immediate, and "unconscious." In other words, mostly it is our naive self that operates. But when a choice is made, what happens? For example a pupil wants to communicate with his neighbor across the aisle. The naive self, being habits and emotions organized around them which give the habits their strength, might act quite directly and talk to the other pupil, only to be reprimanded by the teacher. The next time he wants to do this, the child remembers his annoyance at the loss of status and the feeling of contraction that the reprimand effected. He hesitates and debates, momentarily or cruelly, "Can I do it? How without being scolded?" In such a situation, the naive self looks into the eyes of the teacher, remembers what she did before, sees a mirror self as scolded or condemned, measures that against his ideal self, realizes it does not fit his picture of his ideal self, feels contracted and controls his naive self by a decision not to talk at all. Or he experiments with other possible ways of talking without endangering his social status or failing to maintain his ideal self. In the latter case, he devises a way to talk without being seen by the teacher. He writes a note and slips it to the other pupil when the teacher is not looking. There may well be two ideal selves operating here in conflict — one with respect to the teacher-principal group, one with respect to his fellow pupils who expect him to talk to them, if not overtly, then secretly. If he talks openly he loses status with the teacher; if he does not talk at all, he loses status with his classmates. He adjusts himself to the situation in terms of the various demands and by circumventing the teacher maintains his ideal self or good record for conduct and yet does what the other children expect him to.

The foregoing is more in the nature of hypothesis than of established knowledge. The teacher in preparation may well check upon it by self-examination and by observation of pupils in different types of social situations.

One great difficulty in interpreting pupil behavior or even adult behavior is that of discovering which self is operating. Does a pupil say what he thinks or what he thinks the teacher wants him to say? Is it the naive self or the mirror self that is being expressed? In tests and examinations this problem is a real one and militates against ready acceptance of many of the assumed results of teaching. Under the eye of the teacher or of "the world" he surely does what is demanded, but when alone with his playfellows the naive self operates more readily, perhaps. That is why teachers will find it helpful to avail themselves of opportunities for contact with pupils out of classroom situations where children play a more spontaneous social rôle. In athletics under the stress of immediate experiences, or in dramatics or in music or art many expressions of the naive self are to be found that remain undiscoverable in the more artificial situation of the classroom.

One of the great difficulties in attitude testing, important as that is, is to determine which of the selves has been expressed when a pupil checks the items. Is it his habitual expression, or has he conformed to what he deems necessary to maintain his status with the examiner or what he would like to do if he could? Is it his naive self, his mirror self, or his ideal self? When tests are poorly set up, he will now express one self and now another and the tester may use the results all in the same way, but manifestly the findings from such investigations do not represent realities. We must devise means of discovering the naive self or the mirror self or the ideal self when we want to without confusion with the others. To do this the technique of organizing the items of the test must be well developed and highly refined.

#### FALLACY OF "TRAIT LISTS"

CURIOUSLY, the failure to make such distinctions has led to a serious fallacy in investigations by some investigators. ■

attempting to describe the personality of a pupil they have set up what they call "trait lists." From fifty to one hundred words like "honest," "dependable," "unstable," and the like, are submitted for check to those who know a pupil. From this result it is supposed they have a picture of the child's personality. But in reality they have nothing of the sort. They have a picture, assuming the validity of the terms, of the pupil's objective self, a part of his social environment, not of him. The data are necessary for study of a child because it is as essential to discover what people think of him — part of his total situation — as to find out the characteristics of his personality, but such confusion as to just what data are secured must be avoided. When a pupil's objective self is to be studied, then look to his companions and associates. When his personality, *per se*, is to be investigated, then study not other people's judgments or opinions but the child himself. Study his behaviors, speech, and other forms and get the data of his naive or mirror or ideal self. Above all, distinguish between the child himself and his social environment.

#### FALLACY OF RATING LIST

A FALLACY of the same sort but applied in another aspect of education is the rating list for teachers as a device for analyzing the teachers' personalities. But such analysis gets at not the teachers themselves but their objective selves. The rating lists secure data on teachers' social situations, the judgments and appraisals of others to which they must adapt themselves in order to maintain their social status.

#### PRELIMINARY DEFINITION OF PERSONALITY

MANY persons have conjured with the term "personality." Its magic appeal sells correspondence courses, hats, motor cars, cigarettes, and college degrees. Others have striven to give it scientific content and still others have despaired of ever understanding a term so vague and elusive. Some call it "soul"; others, "It." But neither is a synonym for personality. We must find a definition that will be capable of objective investigation and even of quantitative treatment.

Otherwise we shall be unable to secure indices for diagnosis and school record. Only so can we actually achieve the guidance that school education represents. Without data on pupils' personalities of a more scientific kind, our teaching will remain mostly a magical ceremony, of a piece with the rituals of the Shamans of Siberia or the medicine men of the American Indians.

Personality is not "It" and yet it is. When a person has "It" he has distinctive qualities that mark him off. But in that case we should speak of "individuality." Compared with others a personality has individuality but also homogeneity. The assumption of these popular definitions is that some people have personality and others do not. But the fact is all people have personalities. The idiot, the imbecile, the moron, as well as the genius, has personality. Common usage must therefore be given up by students of education.

#### PERSONALITY IS NOT THE ORGANISM

A common error is in identifying personality with the organism, the physical traits of a human being. But this is incorrect although it is a part of the truth. Physical appearance that approximates the standards of excellence, of beauty, or prowess and strength, of body or mind characteristic of a culture area — manifestly different in America or China or Africa or India — is considered as possessing "It." That is why physical attraction has been dubbed "It." And among primitives it is called "Mama," or "Wokenda," or "Manitou," or "Unkululu," which can be freely translated "It." In this sense "It" is the possession of power. "It" is the *Powerful Aweful*. Anyone who has "It" stands out from among his fellows and becomes a "medicine man" or a leader. Who has the strongest arm to kill the bear, the keenest eye to bring down a bird from a distant tree, or who can see visions, has "It." Personality may include what the primitive in the African jungle or Dorothy Dix (in the American jungle of commercialized journalism) means by "physical power," but it is much more than that.

## THE ORGANIC CONDITIONS PERSONALITY

Now it is true that sometimes physical deviations from the norm are such as to develop distinctive personality qualities. Because of his great nose, Cyrano de Bergerac developed unusual and splendid qualities as compensation for his physical deformity—expert duellist, philosopher, musician, and poet—and proud of them all. But he had to have other abilities, otherwise his efforts at compensation would have been futile. Steinmetz had anything but physical beauty and prowess, but his capable intellectual powers made him outstanding in his generation. Shortness, tallness, fatness, stuttering may develop distinguishing personality traits. One readily thinks of Demosthenes or Napoleon in this connection. But these traits are only aspects of personality.

## PERSONALITY AS STATUS

BECAUSE of their physical or mental traits people develop certain conceptions of themselves and their rôles in social groups, all of which condition them in their making of choices and in the status they subsequently secure. In this sense, personality is what personality does. Every person possesses some kind of status in every group or social world in which he participates. That status is a clue to his habits, his attitudes, his ideals, in short, to him. In adult life the major status is the vocational status. So we speak of lawyers, doctors, teachers, street-car conductors, judges, policemen, and the like through some twenty thousand different occupations in the United States alone. These terms not only indicate something of the status of the person but also include hints as to his qualities. A policeman is not a small, weak man. A doctor is not one whose mental ability is below the average. It is said of teachers that you can tell them anywhere but the old-fashioned stereotype conception of teachers is fast disappearing with the coming of legal standards that require ability and professional training.

In these various rôles in life each person has a conception of himself, and his ideal self operates to build up his naive self to approximate it. His conception of his rôle and his



conception of his present status, their identity or variation, are basic to an understanding of the person. For the present then we will say that one's personality is his status symbolized in such words as girl, boy, pupil, teacher, principal, superintendent, supervisor, and the like.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can you cite an instance when the general educational principle that a number of teachers tried to apply broke down because of the peculiarities of the pupil?
2. Can you narrate an illustration of the statement "every group speaks to itself through its leader"?
3. What are your answers to the queries on p. 128?
4. Why are "primary groups" of especial importance educationally? What are the educative effects of a "family"?
5. Is the discussion of "emergence of self" one-sided in that it fails to take account of co-operation?
6. Does a child develop a different "self" for every different group?
7. What criticisms have you of the rôle of the different selves in choice making?
8. Is this correct: "My mirrored self is what others think of me"?

9. What substitutes would you suggest for "true self" or "teacher rating" in the study of teacher personality?
10. Can you prove that conscience is inborn?

**EXERCISES**

1. Bring in analyses of advertisements that exploit "personality" to show the various conceptions or definitions of personality.
2. Give an instance when your conception of your rôle in a social world produced a certain type of behavior.

## CHAPTER VII

### WISHES AND ATTITUDES

#### THE SOCIAL FORCES

##### CURRENT EXPLANATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

LITERATURE from all times has revealed man's effort to explain human motives. The primitive, the ancient sage of Babylonia, or of Greece, India, or China have reflected upon the simple problem, "Why do I do this?" The first answers explained behavior in terms of "spirits"—good or evil—or God, who compelled people to act as they did. There are those who still think so. At least it is a convenient theory because it places responsibility elsewhere. From Aristotle on to more recent thinkers, behavior came to be regarded as a product of the nature of man, particularly his organism. Today we know that behavior is a product of his nature plus his environment, a function of the total situation in which the behavior occurs.

##### THE GEOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATION

SOME specific theories were as follows: Buckle,\* Ratzel,† Semple,‡ and Ellsworth Huntington§ have generally advanced a geographic interpretation of human history. It should be noted, however, that Huntington does not claim that it is the only explanation but insists that geography plays an important rôle. This geographic theory maintains that the history of Scotland was what it was because of the

\* *History of Civilization in England.*

† *The History of Mankind.*

‡ *The Influence of Geographic Environment.*

§ *Climate and Civilization.*

Highlands (Buckle); that the Greeks loved beauty and thought because of their lovely hills set in the Mediterranean blue; that the Swiss are rugged people because they live in the mountains; that American history unfolded as it did because of the pioneer environment.

Might it not be suggested that it was not geography which made people hardy and rugged, but that because they were so they went into geographic regions difficult to occupy? This reminds us of the old problem of the hen and the egg. Which is first? Fortunately we need not concern ourselves with such dilemmas, for the truth is that geography, space, topography, climate, the ecology\* of plants and animals are factors that condition man's behavior in many different ways. The errors are in (a) confusing man's environment with his motives, and in (b) considering geography alone an adequate explanation.

#### THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION

Others† have stressed an economic explanation of history. Marx said, "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."‡ Although he did not advocate really that the "economic force" acts as the single determinant, his disciples have advocated that extreme interpretation. The student is probably familiar with the explanations of international wars as conflicts for the possession of world markets. A. G. Keller in *Societal Evolution* follows his master, W. G. Sumner, and maintains that the economic institutions determine the nature and character of all the others.

The errors here are: (a) considering economic activities or products as "forces"; and (b) ascribing to economic factors in history a dominance they do not always possess; and (c) over-simplifying explanation of complex human history. Economic activities are expressions of forces whose manner

\* The science of habitats.

† Marx, K., *Das Kapital* (Capital), and *Manifesto of the World War*.

‡ *Outlines of Political Economy*, p. 17.

and direction are determined by the economic institutions already established. So also are religious or political activities. Institutions are conditioning factors, not "forces." Economic factors do play significant rôles in conditioning the development of war, but only in the early stages in the development of war, for when war is about to be declared, not "loans" nor "protection of property," nor "expansion of markets," but "national honor" is involved in its justification. The economic factors, then, play a rôle of background causation. But ever and always among other factors, the economic ones enter into the determination of morality, politics, law, family, and religion. One needs only to consider the effects on all phases of our societal life introduced and accentuated by the industrial evolution to realize that economic aspects are conditioning factors of human history. They are not the forces, but they do condition the social forces.

#### THE GENIUS AS A MAKER OF HISTORY

A third explanation is the "genius theory" of history. Propounded by Carlyle in *Sartor Resartus*, the theory claimed that "The history of the world is the history of its great men." Important as leaders are in determining the course of history — Napoleon, Lincoln, Wilson — their leadership depended upon followship. When Napoleon lost his supporters he could no longer determine history; both Lincoln and Wilson had to wait for enough people to catch up to them before their leadership was effective. So it can be claimed that leaders are but mouthpieces of the people. *Vox populi, vox Dei* is a phrase used by many a leader. And yet due credit must be given to genius, for through invention of material culture — Marconi (radio); Bell (telephone); the Wrights (airplane) — tremendous changes have been brought about not only in our manner of living but also in our ideas and standards of behavior. The motor car has closed many a church, broken up many a home, and opened many a dance-hall.

The previous criticisms apply here in that a part of the explanation is taken for a complete one. Genius through its

achievement has in all ages created turning points in history but genius is only part of the total situation in any historical period.

#### THE BIOLOGICAL EXPLANATION

THE "RACIAL THEORY" of history is quite common today, thanks to the propaganda of pseudo-scientific writers who take their clues from Wiggam,\* Lothrop Stoddard,† and Madison Grant.‡ The racial and genius theories may be combined and called the "heredity theory." This means that certain races or certain persons biologically inherit superiority or inferiority and these facts explain why some peoples are powerful and masters while others are inferior, weak, and subservient to the masters. Thus the Nordic races, according to Stoddard and Grant, are the superior races of the world, and the Orientals, Africans, Indians, and the like are the inferior races. The authors fear, because of our lowering birth rate, an ultimate invasion and conquest of us by these so-called inferiors, when the finest flower of the world's evolution, the American culture, will be lost as was the glory of ancient Rome by the invasions of the Visigoths.

The errors here are not only those of the other theories but consist in wishful thinking that suits one's personal pride. The data warrant no such conclusions as drawn by the authors referred to. Contact through migrations and commerce better explain the rapid growth of Euramerican culture than any racial superiority; isolation from the great routes of commerce and the westward expression of culture better account for the arrested development of Oriental culture than does unproved biological inferiority. The fundaments of European culture came out of the East where dwell the "inferior peoples." The student should rid his mind of fallacies of these kinds, as was contended in the discussion of racial differences in Chapter V.

#### THE "CULTURE THEORY" OF HISTORY

THE "CULTURE THEORY" of history claims that behavior is determined merely by culture which operates under laws

\* *Principles of the Family Tree*    † *The Rising Tide of Color*    ‡ *The Great Race*

all its own. Because of the emphasis on "culture as behavior pattern" earlier in this book, the student is familiar with the essential concepts of the theory. If we let our previous discussion of the culture determination of behavior stand without further correction, this work would have to be classed with the anthropologists, W. G. Sumner, Clark Wissler, and the cultural sociologists like W. F. Ogburn, who stress culture determinism. The correction of the position previously taken in this book will be presented later in this chapter. Culture does determine behavior as a conditioning factor; but is not the only conditioner.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Most prevalent among teachers is the psychological explanation of behavior. During and since the war many books have presented the argument for instincts, impulses, and in-born capacities as sufficient explanations of why men fight, play, worship, in fact whatever they do. Even buying and selling is explained and we have "the psychology of advertising"! "Psychology" is the magic word of the hour; by it human behavior is explained (see, for example, Dorssey, G., *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, which title should rather be *Why We Behave Like Animals*, for by the time he finishes presenting the physiological and psychological data little space remains for all the sociological phases of man's total situation). But the psychologists are responsible in so far as they have failed to distinguish their phenomena from physiology on the one hand and sociology on the other. Instead of clarifying they add confusion by denominating all phases of behavior as "psychological." But the endocrinologists on one side and sociologists on the other press for distinctions that are both real and serviceable for scientific research and application. Consider how American education has been bound hand and foot and delivered over to those who expected to get not a partial, mind you, but a complete theory of learning by studying organic functioning! Small wonder teachers are so prone to explain pupil's behaviors in terms of "instincts" or "curiosity" (!), "play," "aggregation," and the like in lists of various lengths.

SINCE we have discussed the rôle of heredity and original nature we can hardly be charged with failure to give due place in explaining motives to these elements. But they are elements, not finished products; original nature is not human nature; nor is a nervous connection behavior; nor is there human behavior outside of social situations. Therefore, neither physiology, nor psychology, nor sociology alone can explain human behavior. All are needed ■ complement one another in presenting specialized analyses to get a picture of the person behaving in a total situation.

#### A BIO-INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

THEFORE, we come to the theory advocated herein: a psycho-sociological explanation, a bio-institutional theory of human behavior. Behavior has in it to be analyzed for its causation: organism (physiology and psychology), personality (psychology and sociology), and social situation (sociology). Thus the contributions of all the particularistic theories, geography, economics, genius—race—heredity, culture or institution, and psychology are duly taken into account in explanation of "Why we behave like human beings."

#### THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL FORCES

THE ONE ERROR that runs through each of these various theories is that it attempts to explain complex societal phenomena by a single cause or conditioning factor. But human behavior is never simple and singularistic but complex and pluralistic. That is, in any instance of human behavior, whether viewed from the personal or the group aspect, there are elements and there are conditions. The precise combination of all these that may occur at any moment produces personal or group behavior as it may be found at that moment.

#### CONFUSION OF FACTORS AND FORCES

ANOTHER mistake that we have already pointed out ■ that again and again the conditioning factors are called "forces." Now forces must be expressions of energy. Energy is in the



organism, produced by the taking of food which is transmuted by the bio-chemistry of the body into many different functions of the various organs. Because of the normal functioning of organs it is possible to walk, talk, make gestures, do work, think, and the like. These are but expressions of energy. The center of gravity in scientific explanation of human behavior is therefore ever and always persons. When we call institutions "forces," it implies that the conditioning factors do something to us, "make" us, so to speak, get to school on time, submit reports to principals. But the truth is we are the active agents. In situations that have such and such institutional or other aspects, we behave in certain ways. The conditions do not do something to us, we do something with respect to them. It is ourselves who express habits and make our choices. Sometimes we choose to hand in a resignation rather than "get there on time," or "hand in a report."

In short, the active agent is the person; never must he be considered passive to his environment. This is important, for it involves a different conception of teaching from that traditionally expressed. Teaching is thought of as doing something to a pupil; making him learn, driving in the knowledge; compelling him to acquire the skills and habits. Doubts of this conception have been applied in the old adage, "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink." Though an extreme statement, it would be safer to say, "There is no teaching; there is only learning." All the teacher can do is so manipulate a pupil's environment as wisely as possible so that he will learn in his adjustments of the social situation as the teacher manipulates it. A teacher can change the environment, but to change it with hopeful prospect of the pupil's learning what is desirable from such change depends entirely upon the teacher's knowledge of typical child behaviors that correlate with typical changes in social situations or with particular modifications of environment. This is the application of sociology to teaching.

A teacher may well abandon, then, his common practice of easy judgment and facile explanation of pupil behavior. He must keep in mind that no instance of behavior is simple or easy to explain. Some aspects of a pupil's behavior may

readily be seen; others are deep-lying and subtle. Some are of the child's own personality; others of his group. The former may be overt; the latter quite beyond the reach of teachers untrained in sociology. They have eyes and see groups but know not what their eyes behold, nor its significance for understanding pupil behaviors. Since behavior is complex and represents a plural (many) of elements and of factors that condition them, explanations must be pluralistic and not particularistic or singularistic. One part of the total situation of pupil behavior must not be taken as the whole.

#### EXPERT AID FOR TEACHERS

THE student in preparation for teaching may exclaim, "But how can we know enough to make analyses of complex pupil behavior, especially when some of the facts are so difficult to get at?" The question is wisely asked, for it is impossible to do so when special and adequate knowledge is necessary. Teachers can improve their knowledge and understanding of the psychology and sociology of pupil behavior, but they cannot be experts without continued study and education along these lines. They can, however, be intelligent users of sociological experts, and they can demand such expert service as aids to their teaching. The sociologist and the visiting teacher (the social worker in schools) who have already begun to aid in handling "problem pupils," the more difficult ones, will expand their service to include all pupils, for purposes of guidance. The normal child deserves scientific help as well as the abnormal or the pathological pupil. Particularly is this true because the beginnings of pathology are in what seems to be normalcy. Only the trained eye can see the future developments of seemingly harmless present trends.

Teachers need such expert service also because, if they have the knowledge or the ability to delve deeply into the facts of pupil behavior, their duties prevent added responsibilities. The time is coming when there will be one visiting teacher to every classroom teacher in a well-equipped school system, city, town, or country. And in every bureau of educational research, there will be a sociological division to

gather the facts of culture, institutions, groups, social worlds, pertinent to diagnosis of pupil personalities. Beginning with the improvement in maladjustment, the service will expand to prevention of maladjustment.

Avoid simple and easy explanation of pupil behavior as poison. Cast explanations of complex, pluralistic human behavior in pluralistic terms. The scientific attitude demands that we say, "So far as we know . . ." "In part at least . . ." "Among other elements or factors . . ." rather than that "Johnny cannot learn history because his I.Q. is only 87"; or "Mary is hopeless. She is 'Shanty Irish.'" If the apparent reason may not be a reason at all for a certain behavior of a pupil, how then can teachers so readily pass judgment upon pupils, so readily condemn them? Among other possibilities, the pupils may be right and the teachers wrong. As noted before youth is ever condemned by oldsters. Sometimes pupils understand what is happening even better than teachers because they are free from stereotypes that blind the teachers. With the best technique so far developed in psychology and sociology, pupil behavior remains enigmatic; there is little actually known, and much disagreement among the doctors." That being true, teachers do well to be alert for new knowledge. Meanwhile, let them refrain from judgment, but sympathetically try to understand their pupils. A good slogan for teachers would be: "Don't condemn; understand."

#### WHAT ARE THE SOCIAL FORCES?

ORIGINAL NATURE and time alone can and do produce energy expressions, for such are found among animals of the orders below man. But what forms do human expressions of energy take? Not those limited by adaptive mechanisms as among lower animals or by situations in the habitats of lower animals. No one can formulate limitations of man's adaptations. Generally speaking, his educability is unlimited because of his flexible mechanisms of adjustment. And moreover no one can indicate the limitations of situations in which man may find himself where he is under the necessity of learning. Human behavior is the expression of energy

formed and patterned by tradition or institution or culture, in short, by the societal mechanisms of control.

*ON* and *T* determine that there shall be energy expression but *C* determines how the energy shall express itself. The former is animal behavior; the latter, human behavior.

Now these energy expressions of man that reflect societal controls in their forms and occasions, are the "forces." "Personal forces" are those of individual personalities; "social forces," those of small groups; "societal forces," those of widespread groups. Since the literature of sociology does not yet make this distinction, we shall for the present conform to practice and use the term "social forces."

#### VARIOUS STATEMENTS OF SOCIAL FORCES

As in the explanations of history there has been no definite agreement, so in the formulation of social forces is consensus lacking. W. G. Sumner in *Folkways* calls them institutions, laws, and organizations. But these are patterns, molds for forces, conditioning factors in energy expression. Drey, in his *Law and Public Opinion in the United States*, calls public opinion a social force; and Fouillée designates ideas as social forces. But ideas rule the world; they do not move the world. Public opinion arises from thought and conditions the operations of the social forces. It is of the stuff of ideas, for all opinion whether personal, or social, or public, involves rationalization or thought. A. W. Small in his *General Sociology* calls social forces interests. But this is a poor term to use for it may mean objectives or ends or it may mean motives. Both uses are found in lay and technical speech. Thorndike and others regard instincts as social forces and speak of economic forces and political and religious forces. But instincts assume a freedom from societal controls that is not found. Lester F. Ward in *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), the foundation stone of American sociology, maintained a clear distinction between ideas or intellect and feelings or desires. He said the feelings or desires are the social forces which operate under the control of ideas or intellect, which is the directive agent. W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, regards sentiments as so-

cial forces. Manifestly we are closer to "instincts," "feelings," "sentiments," or "desires" to social forces than in "institutions." The former at least are within a person and as organic functionings are expressions of energy; but they do not take account sufficiently of the societal controls that influence motives and choices. R. E. Park has considered attitudes as social forces and W. I. Thomas, wishes. Probably "attitudes" is the best term because it may include habits as well as wishes. But as attitudes are themselves complex, in that concept we have not a real unit of investigation. Therefore, it is best to regard the social forces as habits and wishes.

#### HABITS AND WISHES AS OBJECTIVE DATA

THREE terms, habits and wishes, gather up the facts of heredity, original nature, time, and culture, or societal control and are thus bio-institutional categories. They represent realities and can be studied objectively. Habits can be recorded orally in speech or by photographic or other record ■ recurrent behavior and correlated with time and other details. Wishes, too, may be expressed in speech or in objective behaviors and captured by techniques of recording. Habits include sentiments, for sentiments are habituated combinations of emotions and ideas, persons, or things. Every habit and every wish has a natural history. In the development of a person each wish or each habit may be traced back until original nature is finally reached.

#### DEFINITION OF WISHES

ORIGINAL nature, through time, in contact with culture develops habits. Some of these are speech. Speech habits are applied in inventing new forms of behaviors under societal mechanisms of control as projected patterns of behavior. These are wishes. Wishes are instincts revamped by institutions. They are original tendencies modified by life in society; symbolic pictures of what a person plans to do. They are formulations in logic (by words) of behavior in an imagined social situation. "I want a trip to Europe," is a projection of behavior into the future, but the picture con-

mins details of ticks and money and ships and the like. How often the details prevent changing the picture into reality! Wishes are then blueprints of projected behavior. Wishes are functions of persons in social situations.

Wishes are superior categories for scientific analysis of human motivation to "instincts" because they represent realities better than instincts—wishes can be heard, seen, and recorded where instincts cannot—and because they can be objectively investigated. They are units of a behavioristic sociology. In them the *ON* and *T* and *U* elements are all represented.

Wishes differ from habits in that they arise when habits are insufficient. They are the inventive and creative phases of behavior. Wishes initiate new forms of behaviors. Old forms are habits. Habits enter into wishes; wishes may develop into habits. Collectively, habits are institutions, wishes are changes. The struggle between conventionality and personality is the struggle between habits and wishes. Habits may inhibit wishes; wishes may kill habits. (Some of these statements are more poetical than scientific but they may be suggestive for a better understanding of the relations of habits and wishes.) Emotions give the strength to habits and wishes. Emotions depend upon totems and taboos of society. That is, the emotions function depending upon how they have been conditioned and reconditioned by societal patterns. Thus an insult may result in a drawn scabbard of an Italian gentleman or in a smiling bow of a Chinese scholar. The emotions are educated by group expectations and so express themselves in connection with habits and wishes according to such education.

The social forces are the habits and wishes of people. Combinations of habits and wishes are attitudes. Some attitudes may be made up predominantly of wishes and some of habits. In a particular attitude any set of relations between habits and wishes may occur. That is what makes the objective analysis of attitudes difficult. An attitude is, therefore, a habit-wish complex. Attitudes are not composed of single habits or single wishes. What is more, the component parts may vary in strength.

## CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF WISHES

FOLLOWING the suggestion of W. I. THOMAS\* all the wishes of man may be for convenience classified into four types: wishes for "security," wishes for "new experience," wishes for "personal recognition" (better called *personal response*), and wishes for "public recognition" (better called *dominance*). While this list is not final nor conclusive and has been criticized as too limited, it is helpful in explaining why pupils behave or misbehave.

The relations between these wishes and original nature are readily perceived. The instinctive-emotional reaction of fear under social experience becomes wishes for security expressing themselves in millions of ways; joy becomes under social and societal pressures wishes for new experience; love, personal response; and rage, wishes for dominance. Children express wishes from the time they begin to use words. Before then as infants they early express them in gesture but until our methods of study are refined, it is better to confine our attention to children old enough to verbalize their wishes.

It is to be noted that each type is but a type. There is not a wish for security but as many wishes as there are people, and moments of experience, and means of satisfying wishes for security. The phrase is a term of convenience that approximately well represents reality, as is any scientific term or category.

Wishes for security express themselves in a variety of ways. Economic activities, health activities, police, military, insurance, savings, tenure of teaching, marriage and parenthood, and religion are suggestive illustrations of satisfactions in wishes for security.

Wishes for new experience are expressed in recreational behaviors, travel, games, hunting (including scientific research), dancing, and the like.

Wishes for personal response are illustrated by mating, love, and friendship behaviors. The crush, the teacher's pet, the vamp are further suggestions.

Wishes for dominance are expressed in bullying, conflicts,

\* *The Unadjusted Girl*, pp. 1-30.

rivalries and competitions, war, swaggering, boasting, patriotism, profaneism, and the like.

Some institutions and some groups predominantly satisfy one or another of these wishes, but in every institution and in every group all wishes are represented in varying degrees. ■ fact, no instance of behavior is motivated by a single habit or a single wish. This being so, the need for pluralistic explanation is quite obvious.

#### ATTITUDES AND VALUES

As indicated, attitudes are combinations ■ habits and wishes. Functionally, attitudes are tendencies of behavior in a total situation.

Values are the objects of wishes. The total values of American life are the total culture. Value is a synonym for culture trait, material or spiritual. It connotes corresponding attitude. For every attitude there is a value or complex of values and for every value there are possible innumerable attitudes of persons.

An attitude is an appreciation of a value. In every experience there are involved attitudes and values; the former being the subjective aspect and the latter the objective.

Since attitudes may be analyzed into wishes or habits or both, more specifically, values are objects of effort, i. e., habits or wishes. People do not just wish, they wish for some things and what they wish for are values. Pencil, light, belief in God, poetic beauty are a few illustrations of values.

Attitudes may be classified as positive or negative or neutral. A seeking, maintaining, or defending tendency of behavior in a total situation is a positive attitude. An avoiding, withdrawing, disapproving tendency of behavior in a total situation is a negative attitude. No definite tendency for or against is a neutral attitude, usually found when a person is ignorant or unaware of a situation. Correspondingly, values may be classified as positive or negative depending upon the attitudes. The positive values, those sought for and defended by a community, are the *totems*, the totality of which is historically symbolized in the concept "God." The negative values, those guarded against, eliminated, or



hated are negative values or taboos, the totality of which in any community have historically been symbolized by the term "Satan" or the "Devil."

In particular instances to understand either the attitudes or values of a people, the student must apply the Law of *gP* Relativity. Manifestly a negative value at one time may be a positive in another, and so on.

#### ANALYSIS OF AN ATTITUDE

Let us say that a high school girl, Mary, has accepted an invitation to attend a school dance with a boy she has recently become deeply interested in. But she has not yet fallen in love, although her girl friends consider him quite desirable. Here the dance is the value and her tendency to move toward it indicates a positive attitude. What wishes are involved? All types, but specifically they will vary in their strengths. Draw a circle of some size to represent the attitude and from the circumference an arrow pointing north — to the top of the page — and at the end of the arrow write the word *Dance*. Now within this circle draw four smaller circles of different sizes to represent the relative strengths of the types of wishes. Let the diameter of the smallest be a unit of one, let another be twice the size of the first, another three times and another four times the size of the diameter of the first (total, ten). Number them in this order, 1, 2, 3, 4, and write *S* (security) in circle 1, *PR* (personal response) in circle 2, *D* (dominance) in circle 3, *NE* (new experience) in circle 4 (1). This means she is going for a "good time" or fun, to be seen with a desirable companion, has some personal interest in him, and he is "safe." People may thus analyze the wishes in their attitudes by graphic comparison.

Mary herself is the only source of fact and to find out actually how these wishes operate, Mary would have to confess what she is going to the dance for and how she would weight each of the wishes. For example, the *NE* circle might represent wearing a new dress, meeting new people, learning new dance steps and many more new experiences. Each name of a wish-type covers many detailed wishes of that kind. But they could be assembled, classified, weighted, and this

would analyze objectively the positive attitude of going to the dance. Steps would have to be taken to assure ourselves that Mary's confession is honest for in it she might be expressing her *narrow self*. One way is to know Mary's characteristic tendencies toward honest expression or play-acting; another is to check the confession with her actual behavior.

Now suppose the boyfriend arrives after having emptied a flask. His breath reeks of liquor, his gait is unsteady, and his speech distorted. What happens to Mary's attitude? II may be strengthened if she likes that sort of thing. But if she does not approve? She thinks of his driving the car, possible accident, herself hurt or others injured, or what her mother or her pastor will say. Immediately her wish for security expands, so to speak, and absorbs some of the strengths of the other types. NE shrinks to unit 1 circle, S expands to 5, as explained, PR to 1 — she is still polite — D to 2, she pictures what the others will say because of her absence (II). The arrow of the large circle now points South; the dance has become a negative value. She tells him she is sorry but she cannot go

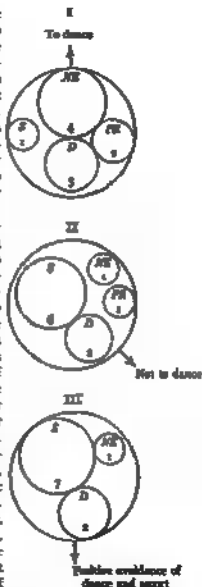


FIG. 1. ATTITUDE SHIFTS

She tells him she is sorry but she cannot go


with him. He begs her to and even advances toward her. Now  $I$  increases to 7 and absorbs all of  $PR$  (111). She does not care now what he thinks. She angrily orders him to get out and closes the door to protect herself. Again purely a hypothetical case but the student may get his facts from his own experience or from confessions of others and make his analysis in this fashion of actual cases.

Technics for such analysis that are strictly scientific and reliable are not yet developed, so the student should regard the foregoing as a clue to lines of investigation and a tentative theory of the operation of wishes as components of attitudes.

#### THE PROCESS OF ATTITUDE SHIFT

IN THIS shift of attitude what has happened? A positive attitude is associated with a positive value, the dance. The escort introduces between this attitude and value a negative value, drunkenness while driving a motor car. The negative value becomes a phase of the total situation and the attitude shifts from positive to negative. To-go-to-the-dance changes to not-to-go-to-the-dance-with-a-drunken-escort. The introduction of a negative value creates a negative attitude as a function of the total situation. Here, too, one can see the operation of the mirror and ideal selves in choice-making.

Another case: one has a negative attitude toward purchasing a hat. One also has an ideal self, a picture of how one looks with a certain style and color of hat, which is a personal positive value. Seeing in the morning paper a photograph of a model with just the type of hat one had in mind, one decides to go shopping and procure just that hat. Here the introduction of a positive value that harmonized with the personal values that made up the ideal self, changed a negative attitude toward buying of hats to a positive one of buying that hat.

A teacher of geography failed to enlist a pupil's attention to that subject. Scolding and other direct methods were used without success. While talking with the child, the teacher discovered he liked to sketch. She proposed  draw the maps and charts for the geography class. He agreed but

to do so he had to learn what was to be drawn. To draw the pictures he studied geography enthusiastically. Finally he convinced himself that he could learn that subject as well as any others. Here a negative attitude of the pupil was changed to a positive one because in place of the negative value, geography, a positive value, drawing, was substituted. Again it may be said that one does not teach; one manipulates values ■ bring about shifts of attitudes involved in the learnings necessary to personal adjustments in social situations. But to do this teachers must know personal attitudes and values of pupils.

Propaganda, education, and other forms of societal control are methods of manipulating values to develop the attitudes desired.

#### TYPES OF ATTITUDES

Besides negative, positive, and neutral attitudes, other classifications are possible. They may be listed as personal attitudes, social attitudes, societal attitudes; or in terms of those characteristic of institutions, such as political, religious, domestic, international attitudes and the like. More fundamental may be distinguished two great kinds, organic attitudes and culture attitudes. Organic attitudes (by virtue of our earlier definition of attitudes) reflect culture influence but not so much as physiological or heredity elements. They are the temperamental attitudes that hark more directly back ■ original nature, that are more independent of societal controls, such as disgust, fear, rage, joy, hunger of the more animal-like kinds. There are other forms of such behaviors that could possibly be called organic attitudes; but fear of God or the policeman on the corner would ■ a cultural attitude.

Culture attitudes or character attitudes or habits or highly humanized wishes are the resultants of education and represent ■ a major way the precipitates of societal pressures. Such also are the appreciations, enjoyments, meanings, and the like found in the attitudes of peoples of developed cultures.

When are attitudes social or societal? When a specific

attitude is common to all or most people in a group or society. Attitudes that characterize groups or societies may then be called social and societal attitudes. These tend to become organized or integrated, so that some attitudes are more common and more strongly supported or held than others. Some are major, some minor; some are permanent, some temporary. The organization of collective attitudes in laws, rules, group expectations, policies, creeds, ethics, and the like create group solidarity or collectivity. Thus a school is an organization of attitudes; so is a home or a factory. When they are organized on a regional and population basis with reference to a culture-complex — negative and positive values — they are nationality or collective personality.

#### THE WORTH OF ATTITUDE-VALUE ANALYSIS

THIS approach takes due account of realities in human behavior. It includes both subjective and objective data and deals with them objectively. Attitudes captured in records of behavior—speech or other forms—can be studied as objectively as can the material traits of culture or the folklore of peoples. Furthermore, and this is the greatest benefit, they can be handled quantitatively.

For example, if a child expresses a certain attitude we can check on other children in a class and see how many hold the same attitude. We can carry this on through a period of time to establish the degree of permanency of this attitude. So with any group or any set of attitudes. By comparing those held personally against the totality of the group, we can get personal-group attitude-index, which may truly be called an index of socialization. For socialization is not mere participation in group experiences as the advocates of "socializing the classroom" maintain (the fact is every class, old or new, is socialized) but rather the degree to which a person has assimilated and made his own the attitudes, habits, and meanings of his group. So also small groups may be compared with larger ones; special groups with communities; communities with nations; nations with international groups. Thus we learn the degree of diversity of persons or groups as to their attitudes. This is necessary for understanding

personal behavior and collective phenomena, migrations, social movements, conflicts, and the like.

All of the foregoing applies equally to values. The culture of a group, community, or nation can be discreetly listed as items, and people can check them as positive, negative, or neutral. But it should be remembered that this check against an objective value always represents *per se* an attitude. The two are merely phases of the same thing, a total situation. Therefore neither subjective analysis, psychoanalysis, psychology, and the like, nor objective analysis, cultural sociology, is alone able to give true pictures of total realities. Attitudes and values are merely different phases of the same thing, human experience.

#### ATTITUDE TESTING

While we are not out of the woods with respect to attitude testing, much progress has been made. The technics have been developed to such a point that it is just as necessary for a teacher in preparation to learn how to construct, administer, and interpret attitude tests as other types of tests. Particularly important are attitude tests to discover the quality outcomes of educations as suggested previously.

Of what use is it to teach literature if the net effect on the child is a negative attitude toward all literature included in the school curriculum? Not long ago a high school girl of seventeen years replied to the query how she liked George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, "I don't suppose it's much." "Why," I replied, "I think it's quite interesting. Why do you think so?" "Oh," she said, "I guess because it's a school book and we have to read it." This girl is an omnivorous reader, having read Rostand, Hugo, Shakespeare, Gorky, Anderson — really a long list of the best classic and modern works. Yet she resisted suggestions from school authorities.

Thus the attitudes are as important as the skills. What good is it to teach arithmetic if pupils come to hate it and refuse to use it? Quantity outcomes without favorable attitudes and emotional support (the quality outcomes) sink to academic gestures.

One practice which is open to serious question is the effort

to secure statements in the tests of various degrees of strengths of attitudes. Items are set up with five or seven columns as follows:

Strongly for	Strongly against	For	Indifferent	Against	Strongly against	Very strongly against	Item
		✓					Academic should be a required subject.

Two great difficulties confront the investigator with this form. First, can we be sure the person taking the test can actually distinguish between "For," "Strongly for," "Very strongly for," or "Against," and similarly for opposition to the attitude expressed by the item. Second, even if he could make such sound distinctions, does the investigator interpret them the way they were made?

It appears, then, that this form utilizes a method too refined for the data. It were better to limit ordinary use at present to "For," "Against," and "Indifferent." Researchers should of course aim at refinement of technique but the hope for that lies in combining the many-column form with great care in the formulation of the items.

Besides, many of the attitude tests so far developed reveal a surprising confusion in their terms. Items included in attitude tests are beliefs, opinions, feelings, undifferentiated from attitudes. Are they all the same and does an attitude safely imply an opinion and vice versa? In relation to special beliefs or opinions may not one have many different attitudes?

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR ATTITUDE TESTS

THE first simple rule for expressing attitude items for a test is to formulate the attitude in a sentence with an active verb, such as, "I support the United States in effecting peace with Russia." Or again, "I enjoy the arithmetic lessons." The items should be simple, straightforward, and readily comprehended by pupils. These suggestions are offered not for research but ordinary classroom purposes.

The following are some significant societal attitudes in

the United States. How do you check each? Plus, minus, or unconcerned?

a. The first thing I want is to become wealthy.

b. When people threaten property, I sacrifice people to protect the property.

c. In every way I strive to maintain universal suffrage.

d. I insist that the Nordic race is superior to all other races of the world.

e. I contend that our culture is the best in the world.

f. I use experts of medicine and engineering.

g. I do not trust social scientists as experts to solve political problems.

h. I value knowledge as less important than character.

i. I have faith in legislation as an effective method of solving societal problems of unemployment and liquor-drinking.

j. I support education for the solving of societal problems.

k. I hunger for excitement.

l. I limit the fundamental freedoms, of speech, instruction, press, and assembly.

m. I frequently boast to others of my home community.

n. In respect to international relations, I vote for no entanglements.

o. I do not attend church regularly.

p. I favor the United States joining the League of Nations.

q. I observe daily and regularly the rules of health.

r. I oppose expansion of Federal control of states.

Throw the above items into beliefs and two weeks later check them again and compare with your checks for this list. What difference appears? Do people often believe one way and act another? Which form is better to disclose realistic attitudes?

Since opinions are rationalized attitudes, by adding typical reasons offered for each item, the test can readily be thrown into an opinion test. If the investigator wants to get the ideal self, let him use the form "I would." For example, "If I did not have to work on Sundays, I would attend church regularly." Refined technique in controlling conditions of such testing are necessary for valid scientific findings, never-



theless crude results that can give teachers some data for guidance in their teaching can be secured from following the foregoing suggestions.

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#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why are "wishes" better descriptions of motives than "instincts"?

2. Do geographic conditions determine pupil behavior? In what ways?

3. What economic factors in your community operate to handicap educational opportunity for children?

4. What effects have the prevalent theories of racial inferiorities had on international relations, school organization, pupil readjustment?

5. Why is a bio-institutional theory of behavior superior to others?

6. If the pupil is the active agent, how then can teaching control his behavior?

7. What is pluralistic explanation of pupil behavior?

8. Can you cite an instance in your own school experience

when your teacher failed to help you because she condemned you offhand?

9. Why did you shift a particular attitude? Can you safely generalize from this single experience?

#### EXERCISES

1. List the various groups in your school and weight the various wishes satisfied in each group using a total of 30 to represent the total group function in wish satisfaction. For example, Debating Society—*D* 4, *NE* 3, *PR* 2, *S* 1.

2. Construct a "social distance" test for use in a classroom of a public school.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PERSONALITY

**I**T HAS already been pointed out that personality cannot be identified merely with the organism, or especially with distinctive differences of physical or mental make-up, though these condition personality development. It has also been indicated that the status one occupies in a group or social world, or the rôle he plays therein suggests in functional terms the nature of personality (Chapter VI). It now remains to gather up the threads of the discussion of wishes and attitudes and habits in order to weave them into a more complete definition of personality.

The present chapter is mainly dedicated to clarifying the meaning of time (*T*) or the "serial order of experience moments" (*/EAM*).

#### PERSONALITY AS ORGANIZATION

ONE CHARACTERISTIC that emerges in contrasting behaviors of young children from one to three years of age with those of adults is the differences in organization of behaviors. For example, a two-year-old child flits from one place to another, from one object to another with a relatively short time-span devoted to any one experience. His efforts are sporadic, unrelated, unorganized at first. His elementary attitudes point in all directions. Some of these run counter to family or societal approvals (*A*); others are tangential to the directions of prevalent social pressures (*B*); others, again, will harmonize at once with such directions (*C*) (Fig. 8). There is similarity between these child behaviors just indicated and certain forms of insanity which reveal behaviors unco-ordinated

and unrelated among themselves. Behaviors in the latter instances are disorganized; in the former, unorganized.

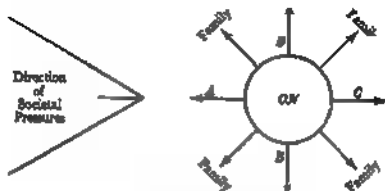


FIG. 2. PERSONALITY GROWTH—INFANCY PATTERN

#### ADULT EFFORT IS ORGANIZED

Adults, on the other hand, reveal co-ordinated, related, or integrated behaviors. Their efforts are directed toward objectives through longer periods of time. Some efforts are major and some minor but the minor or incidental or preparatory efforts are fitted into the major ones so that as a general outcome there is a result in accord with what is desired. Activity is indirectly applied for ends somewhat remote. Achievements are built up to a final objective.

For example, to secure a license to teach, many types of efforts are made in such a way that each has (or should have) a functional, organic relation to every other one. What one learns in courses in "course objectives" contributes to what one learns in courses on "methods of teaching," and so on. Each moment builds into each day's output, each day into weeks, weeks into months and years. The effort of the moment, unimportant in itself, becomes significant because, related to other efforts, it makes the later ones more adequate. So by registering for courses, buying texts, securing and reading books from libraries, writing notes, taking examinations, and so on through multitudes of activities, a student

accumulates a variety of knowledges, skills, and attitudes interrelated in such a way as to make it possible to carry on through a period definite directed activity toward a determined goal—to secure a license to teach. A Chinese proverb says, "Though you go a thousand miles, you must take the first step." Yes, and the second, third, and millionth. One keeps going by doing the things that count toward achieving the goal and excluding extraneous or unrelated activities. This is organization of effort. (See Figure 4. ■ 184)

Any normal person reveals organizations of ideas, habits, skills, attitudes, and the like. One's command of biological knowledge is an organization of ideas; one's ability to administer a test and analyze the findings is an organization of habits; one's ability to solve problems is an organization of skills; and one's purpose to become a teacher, supervisor, or principal is an organization of attitudes. Not only are these organized personally but also societally. Thus churches, schools, prisons, families, parties, denominations, secret societies, and the like are collective organizations of ideas, habits, skills, attitudes, and opinions.

Organization, personal or collective, of behavior ■ essential to economy of effort for optimum result. Personal and collective organization varies in kind and degree, both of which correlate with functions. That is, the greater the organization of personal resources with reference to an objective the more effectively the objective is reached. Quantitative research is needed to reveal the specific correlations that can be found between kinds and degrees of organization and qualities of outcomes. It is impossible to make other than a suggestive generalization like the one presented. But further analysis ■ this concept "organization" will be offered later and also in Chapter XV.

#### SOCIETAL PREDICATE AND ORGANIZATION OF PERSONAL BEHAVIOR

THE QUESTION is, then, why do these organizations of behaviors, of norms or ideals, of opinions and the like occur?

The direct answer is: personal organization reflects societal

organization; and personal disorganization reflects societal disorganization.

■ considering the nature and functions of societal institutions and culture as behavior patterns we secured appreciation of structures and processes of societal pressures that operate for control of people and their behaviors. These societal mechanisms register control of persons by imposing upon them the traditional values, norms, standards, or behavior-patterns of a community or social world, which define for a person his behavior in specific situations. Through acculturations and inculcations in schools and out or through special educations, apprenticeship, vocational training, and the like, a person acquires or learns the behaviors that are approved and expected or those that are disapproved and not expected.

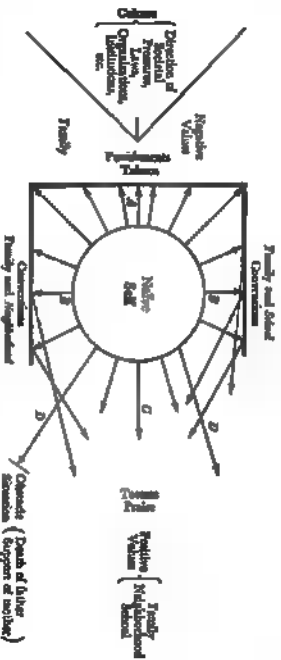
These various societal pressures operate in all sorts of ways to control or give such direction to the developing behaviors of a person that will make for his successful adjustment in social situations and the objectives that a social world or society has set up for itself. They not only determine kinds of habits and wishes but also how and when these habits and wishes may be expressed and their fundamental organization.

#### CONSCIENCE AS PERSONAL ACQUISITION OF GROUP VALUES

Just as human nature is a result of learning, so is conscience. It is the distinction of right or wrong; but the distinction of right or wrong is a knowledge of what the group sanctions or disapproves. Thus the early behaviors of a child, random merely in the first instances, unco-ordinated and unorganized, require three forms of treatment by adults, depending upon their relations to the direction of societal pressure. These are represented in Figure 2, the infancy pattern ■ personality growth.

#### ABNORMAL BEHAVIORS

FIRST, opposing behaviors, those that run counter to the direction of societal pressure, are peremptorily suppressed or inhibited by "punishment" (Figure 3, p. 176



Type A). The behaviors that are a-moral become the child does not yet know the group expectations are moralized by elimination. In an analogous way penal institutions moralize criminals by eliminating them from society. But just as criminals may later come out or break out of prison and do great damage to society, so some of these early inhibited and suppressed behaviors may crop out later in life to do damage. Sometimes they are the stuff of neuroses or psychoses or just "impulses" which are not understood at the time by the person expressing them. Sometimes they are dangerous and antisocial, but sometimes they take artistic or inventive expressions. Much more knowledge is needed than is now available before we can say with assurance just what degrees in severity of punishment or what types and conditions of punishment tend to produce in what types of young children tendencies in adult behavior that may be constructive or destructive. Present knowledge is sufficient, however, to suggest some needed lines of investigation.

The result of such punishments that cut off the anti-social and a-moral behaviors of young children is the acquisition by the child of a set of negative attitudes with respect to those values that are negative to his group. He acquires a set of taboos that correspond to those of family, neighborhood, school, and community. The "Thou shalt not" of the child's group becomes his own "I must not." Furthermore, the child does not repeat and therefore does not habitize the disapproved or punished behavior. This makes the rôle of adults in association with young children quite important. Adults are in a position to prevent the forming of undesirable habits, if their association with the child is constant enough to stop such tendencies in time. Very young children should not have interference except when their behaviors are antisocial; but it should always be ready. Eternal vigilance is the price of successful guidance in the early stages of child growth.

#### PUNISHMENT AND PRAISE

SHALL we do away with punishments? Some teachers say, "Yes." Thorndike has found better results by praise than



by punishment. A word of caution may be of value. The sociologists find punishments used constantly in society. True, many of these punishments have been greatly modified in severity, form, and occasion as our knowledge of man has increased, but it is doubtful that adult society will ever dispense with punishment entirely. The problem is not "shall we dispense with punishment?" but rather "What kinds of punishment, how administered, and when?" Easy generalizations to the effect that all children of any age will learn all things better by praise than by punishment are not yet dependable, though the tendency is toward controlling persons and groups by attraction rather than by prohibition. Laws setting up standards and rewards may increasingly supplant those fixing prohibitions and punishments: religion that appeals to people to do "good" — to make the world a heaven — has certain superiorities to one that professes to be a fire-escape from eternal flames. As children grow older and adults more intelligent they seem to be controlled more by a positive than a negative ethic.

Certainly some punishment is inevitable. Children will deviate from expectations in spite of best efforts at guidance because (a) some of their inventions will lead them to do so and (b) some of their learnings will not be perfect, and (c) some of their interpretations of what is expected will be wrong. It is impossible in guiding a child to praise him always. If he is accustomed to praise and looks for it, he will be punished merely by the withholding of it. We may well direct our attention to the development of clever and suitable punishments as substitutes for our present stupid and crude forms so frequently applied. In that direction Thorndike's results are suggestive.

#### MORAL BEHAVIORS

SECOND, conforming behaviors, those that harmonize with societal values or expectations, are praised by words, or rewarded by smiles, pats on the head, or by privileges (Figure 9, p. 176 Type C). These expressed approvals define for the child what he may do and still maintain status or even enhance it. His behaviors of this sort are habituated, and

emotions are organized around them, giving them definite strength or drive. His habits are in this instance built up in accordance with the established norms. Here is where praise plays its defining rôle. These behaviors are moralized by approval and support.

#### TANGENT BEHAVIORS

THose tangential behaviors which are not directly against or directly with societal pressures must be redirected into conformity, sufficient at least to keep the child out of difficulty (Figure 3, p. 178 Type B). While the second type of treatment often occurs as a phase of acculturation, in this third type, definite inculcation by family or school or court or church is effected. It is in this field of doubtful behaviors that a community least desires to take chances on the child's learnings. It is here that the organizations of control are applied most directly. And in the treatment of these tangential behaviors, probably both the praise and punishment technique may be utilized if properly adapted. So in all the social situations in which the growing child finds himself, he runs into obstructions which compel him to change his venue, otherwise he eventually finds himself at too great variance with other people.

#### CRITICISM OF "FREE ACTIVITY" SCHOOLS

THESE behaviors are moralized by education or re-direction. To allow children to follow their own natures or impulses or interests as some of the "new schoolists" contend is for this reason exceedingly unfair to children. Whatever their education, free or bound, they still have to meet societal demands, and make their choices by societal norms. In view of the facts of adult societal life, it is safe to assert that children need some adapted regimentation, discipline, and hard work as well as some freedom and play. To allow children entire self-determination is absurd for there are no facts to support the theory. However free they may be in schools of this "new" type, they are ruled and bound and hedged and controlled at almost every turn outside of school, whether they like it or not. Is it not a part of the task of schools to help

children to learn how to "play the game" within the rules and still like it? This is not a plea for the strict regimen of traditional schooling but for avoidance of unfounded extremes of "free activity." Without precise and differential definition the phrase is deceptive and misleading to neophytes in education.

To summarize, we may say that conscience is the personal acquisition of group values and attitudes, the taboos and systems of a culture area, or a social world, or even a group. As these differ consciences differ. In short, conscience is a complex of positive and negative attitudes and values, the norms or standards, ideals or measuring-sticks by which one makes choices. It is found in the expressed ideals of the person and in his habits and wishes. Conscience corresponds to what we have already called "the ideal self."

A child comes into a public school with little of his behavior or wishes organized. The school serves not only to carry on the suppression and re-direction of emergent habits and wishes but also aids in the child's development of a conception of a rôle and in the organization of his habits and wishes. Constructive guidance and corrective control are both important phases of school work and especially so where parents and families fail through ignorance of child needs, or lack of time, or attention to child nurture, or in communities where the variety of appeals would operate against a natural organization of developing habits and wishes. Schools thus (a) supplement what families and neighborhoods begin, (b) correct objectionable tendencies previously developed, and (c) arouse and establish new desirable habits and wishes.

It might even be argued that not the acquisitions of facts but of habits, attitudes, and life-purposes properly suited to capacities and probable adult opportunities are the major objectives of public schools. If this be granted more research and practice than are now evident will have to be devoted by educators to the problems of personality diagnosis. And why not? The pupil is a person.

## THE PERSON'S CONCEPTION OF HIS SELF

Through these social experiences the child develops pictures of himself and the rôle or part he is expected to play in groups. He comes to know that if he does things which are taboo, he loses status. People punish him severely or mildly and he suffers a contraction of his social self. On the other hand, when he does things that are praised he develops pictures of himself, doing the things that are praised, that give him an expansion of his social self. His mirror self and his ideal self more nearly conform to each other and through the establishment of habits his naive self gradually takes on the details of his ideal self.

But this group expectation expresses itself in so many different ways that the child is often confused by it. For when he finds that variation brings approval he tends to develop behaviors that deviate from the norm. The innocent deviations of young children are sometimes considered smart or clever because the adult associates present inaccurate mirror. Habits formed under such approvals tend to bring the children into maladjustment when they are in groups that disapprove of them. That explains why children frequently have so much difficulty adjusting themselves to school expectations when the latter differ markedly from those in homes.

Children quickly develop technique of social adjustment and do what is expected. Maxim Gorki in his book *Bystander* shows how the family expectation that the son reveal clever and intelligent behavior led him to strive for cleverness and the marks of intelligence in his conversation with other children. In fact he even boasted of his superiority. For this reason the other children hated him but he turned to the adults who gave him approval and found his social status satisfactory amongst them.

Children inevitably learn at early ages to live up to these group expectations by playing the rôles people approve of. They conceive of themselves as "smart" or "good" or "dumb" according to the way others treat them. That is why it is important for older persons to be careful how they

define the rôles of children. These conceptions of rôles are revealed by the dramatization of children. They "picture" themselves as policemen, nurses, school teachers, fathers, mothers, and the like, getting the pictures from the adults in their social worlds. In their play activities they identify themselves with whatever persons they pretend to be and come to take these pictures of themselves quite seriously.

Accordingly such wishes and habits are developed that produce a conception of a social rôle that fits a child's ideal self, and so long as he thinks he possesses the rôles he conceives for himself he is happy. When his social world demands a rôle foreign to him, either because he does not understand what others expect or because he cannot do what they want, he may have to withdraw into an imaginary world. In his daydreaming he pictures himself as he likes but always surrounded by those who accept and approve of him. Daydreaming is, therefore, a signal of danger in a developing personality, a mark of readjustment or social inadequacy, for it is an effort to get wish-satisfaction outside of reality, because reality does not give him what he wants. Reading literature frequently serves children an opportunity for escape from reality too difficult to master.

Let the student analyze his own experience at this point. He finds himself with definite pictures of teachers, or principals, or supervisors of the kind that he approves. These serve him as ideals, as patterns, and he models himself accordingly. In terms of the behaviors that he expects of such educators, or of what he knows others expect, he develops his own behaviors and makes his own choices. Again and again as he carries on his program of preparation, he selects facts, observes methods, writes up materials in terms of his picture of himself teaching, or supervising, or administering schools. Some of these details he himself gathers independently, others are presented by his instructors; practice teaching is expression under guidance of approved patterns and choices.

To summarize: persons develop conceptions of their rôles in groups and groups develop conceptions of rôles that persons play. Sometimes these two conceptions are the same,

sometimes they differ. When they are the same the person is socially adjusted; otherwise he is maladjusted. Among various causes of maladjustment the following are pertinent here: the group does not reveal honestly or accurately what its conception of the person is; the person has no correct conception of the group conception of him because he does not observe or observes erroneously; or the person's conception deviates too greatly from the group's conception because of variant values that control choices. The group's conception of a person is the "objective self" described previously; the person's conception of himself and his rôle is his mirror self or his ideal self. His overt behavior or expression of his "naïve self" is the resultant of the interactions of the several selves and the group's expectations of him or their conceptions of him.

#### ORGANIZING EFFECT OF THE PERSON'S RÔLE

Persons tend to integrate their wishes and habits around certain wishes and habits that as a complex emerge as persistent and dominant because of group expectations and approvals. That is, the rôle a person plays in a group, being defined by group expectations, serves to select those wishes that contribute to the achievement or enhancement of status. Minor or incidental wishes are subordinated to major ones; irrelevant wishes are eliminated. The dominant wish, developing in terms of the person's conception of his rôle, selects and integrates all other wishes into a complex unity. The dominant wish is the life-purpose and the total organization is the life-scheme which produces the essential characteristics of a personality. Personal life-schemes are reflections of institutions or group-schemes.

These features are illustrated in Figure 4 which shows a simplified picture of a wish-pattern organized around a single life-purpose or dominant wish, which has created for the person a status of "violinist" in his social world. The widening arrows of the dominant wish are shown as continuous from very early life. Such a child is sensitive to music and early shows ability to follow and then to produce tunes. Thus his capacity in this direction, being supported by so-



cietal approvals, expresses itself in a continuing succession of habits and wishes with regard to violins, violin-playing, and musical production. Usually in such a development the direction of societal pressure will be represented in some one person who as constant guide expresses concretely, sympathetically, and consistently, the approvals that expand the child's social self and builds up his behaviors around the dominant wish. Such persons may be parents, friends, or teachers who are devoted to music. Seldom, if ever, does a life-purpose develop without suggestions and encouragement from other persons or from the culture of a community.

This diagram also depicts the pattern of one so thoroughly organized in his behaviors that he achieves through his complete devotion to his object unusual attainments. To this is commonly given the name "genius," but it is hardly necessary to remind the students that there is truth in the saying, "Genius is ninety per cent perspiration (learning) and ten per cent inspiration" (innate capacity). The ability is there but it must be concentrated, organized, and highly unified in its expression for distinctive achievement.

Some types of insanity are of this same pattern, but society is content so long as such complete organization of wishes occurs around objectives socially approved, as in the case of the synthetic arts or engineering. But when the values are antisocial, then the person may reveal tendencies toward behaviors potentially dangerous to society. Such persons are wisely cared for in mental hospitals. Insanity of this type—exclusive organization of wishes and habits around a single purpose—may be the price of genius—achievements of the history-making kind.

Just what is the optimum amount of organization of wishes and other behaviors? If schools through strict disciplines and undue regimentation make for such kinds of complete organization, may they contribute to inflexibility and difficulty of adjustment in a world full of variety and change?

A child who grows up in a limited community, whose traditions are firmly established and whose schools support the family and neighborhood in transmitting just "the" traditions, may find himself ill-prepared for life in other



communities. On the other hand, the schools may counteract the excessive pressures of family and community by developing competing wishes and organizations which reflect the larger world.

■ would seem, then, that a certain flexibility of personality is necessary, that to secure this a child's wishes and habits on the average be not too completely organized around a single purpose, at least not too early in life. Otherwise he may choose a wrong rôle—a wrong vocation—and have difficulty developing new organizations. The optimum then lies somewhere between the unorganized behaviors of infants and the excessively organized wishes of the genius or insane person. But genius, when discovered, should be allowed its own way. The problem is to discover the kinds and amounts of wish organization that belong to (x) abilities and (y) life-opportunities for optimum results. Only differential personal analysis can answer such problems. But much research is needed first in order to secure norms for prognostic evaluations of personality trends.

#### COMPLETE DEFINITION OF PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY may now be defined as: *the organization of wishes and habits around a dominant wish which creates for the person a status or rôle in his group or social world.*

In this definition we have gathered up all the foregoing analysis, at the same time giving due consideration to both the structural and the functional aspects of personality. Moreover the definition describes phenomena which have promise of objective analysis and quantification. It is possible to record data on the status that a person holds, on his wishes and habits, and on the integration of these among themselves.

#### PERSONALITY, CHARACTER, AND WILL

SINCE students use commonly such terms as personality, character, and will, it may be helpful at this point to draw a few distinctions.

Will is the sum of a person's habits; it is a phase of personality very difficult to distinguish. Perhaps the term had

better be dispensed with altogether. But in so far as a person's habits cause him to move fundamentally in one direction or another, we might designate that "drive" as "will." "Free will" is not "uncaused" behavior, but the making of choices.

"Character" is nothing more than the characteristics of a personality. The term is used in misleading ways. We speak of character education as though a person has no character and must get it; but all people at all ages have character. As in the case of confusions already cited, the question is not, "How to create character?" but, "How to create the kinds of character we want?" Manifestly there is no such thing as "character education" that implies a definite fixed thing, though educators seem to regard it so. The fact is, when a person has character that is disapproved of, people say he has "no" character; but they should say, he has not "our" character. Here again anything but careful differentiation of terms and meanings is absurd.

#### CHARACTER EDUCATION

"CHARACTER EDUCATION" aims to make pupils "honest, reliable, truthful" and the like. But these do not exist as generalities. What pupils acquire, if any, are honesties, reliabilities, truthfulnesses of particular kinds in specific situations. This must be so if behavior is ever and always a function of a situation. To tell a truth or a lie is a technic of adjustment in a social situation, whose worth depends upon results. Hence people condone some lies as "white lies"; or condemn certain truth-telling because of its damaging effects on others. Truths, honesties, reliabilities are relative to situations in terms of their adjustment worths, as well as to dominant societal values incorporated in a distinct culture area.

Thus everyone has character, for everyone has a personality which possesses whatever characteristics the interplay of *ON* and *I* and *It* has produced. We say we need character education because we find personalities that are Baptist when we think they should be Methodist, Republican when they should be Democrat, atheistic when they should believe

in God, thieving when they should refuse to steal (though as a people we seem content to let some steal by watering stock and other clever tricks of finance), murderous when they should respect life and not harm it (except when permitted by government to do so in war time), and so on. Character education needs to be re-defined. It must mean educations that produce those characteristics of personalities that are scientifically determined as necessary. That seems to make "character education" hopeless, for a Methodist community insists that its public schools teach Methodist character; a Baptist one, Baptist character, and so on; under societal control organized as may be by all sorts of vested-interest groups such as religious denominations, political parties, educational sects, and the like.

So long as morals and ethics are relative to periods, places, and peoples, and so long as character is not a general thing but a particular set of personal qualities, it will be well-nigh impossible to organize a character education that will satisfy all people throughout these United States. Probably we shall continue to do what we have been doing, at least until we have more scientific knowledge for more effective control of child growth — which is, to develop the qualities of personality that fit the person into such specific groups (vocational, recreational, religious, domestic, political, and the like) as he may enter. Which these are must be investigated in terms of adult activities and expectations and the probable future opportunities of school children.

There probably are some forms of character education that we can all agree upon. They will be educations away from the negative societal values — at least those disapproved by the effective majority who control the mechanisms of coercion, the laws, police, and schools. But when one begins to precise these negative values, some persons would promptly debate our conclusions. With regard to stealing, murder, purveying of narcotics we might agree, but should we include in this list of negative values, cigarettes, intoxicants, divorce, and the like? Some would readily say, "Yes"; others, "Emphatically, no!" And there we are. That is why objective evidence to establish the negative aspect of

these values is the only way to combat mere opinion, but even then it is difficult, because people rationalize their likes and dislikes and decline evidence. There is no room here for dogmatism or finality. Let the student keep an open mind and search for scientific findings on this subject.

#### MORAL EDUCATION

THE COMMON inclusion of moral education in character education is one reason why confusion exists as to just what the latter means. Sociologically, moral education occurs all the time and everywhere. Whenever a child or an adult learns what is to him a "new" aspect of the mores or institutions, acquires an additional norm or ideal, assimilates any "new" significance of either totems or taboos, he is undergoing moral education. From this point of view, moral education is a part of character education and may be thought of as any learning that results in a person's avoiding disapproved behaviors and in developing conformity to group expectations. It has whatever uncertainties exist in the mores and the divergencies of values in different communities or culture areas. (Law of  $gP$  Relativity) Moral education aims at the child's development of whatever characteristics of personality the strategic groups controlling the schools sanction. Since all education produces characteristics of personality and is therefore character education, the term as commonly used is made synonymous with moral education. Such use leads to unwarranted conclusions as to content and method.

#### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A FURTHER confusion arises from the use of "religious education," which is taken to include both moral and character education. Manifestly religious education is also merely a part of character education for it aims to develop religious qualities in a personality; it is of a rank with political education, domestic education, and the like—a special form with reference to a specific societal institution. What, then, is religious education? Practically Bible education and inculcation of local mentality because it is carried on generally by people of limited knowledge and narrow ranges of experi-

ence. Consider the educational levels of some Sunday school teachers and of preachers. In the local morality, since dancing, drama, and even music are frequently considered "immoral" by many people, manifestly the "moral education" of religious education is in conflict with the positive values of many communities of the United States. How sound is this identification of religious with moral education? At any rate the issues and aims should be clearly differentiated for any real development of religious education that may permanently affect conduct.

If religious education is mainly "moral education" or "character education," does it not duplicate the work of schools in this respect? If that case it may do this work better or worse than the public schools. The chance of doing it better in average Sunday schools is open to question because Sunday school teachers are not controlled by standards that are required in public schools. This fact operates for the continuance of the local morality, whereas teachers by their education make contact with societal norms characteristic of broad culture areas. Furthermore, scientific knowledge is more likely in average situations to be reflected in public schools but rejected in religious education, particularly if it seems to conflict with the Bible or the local morality. It would seem wiser then to trust to our schools for education in a morality non-local, non-sectarian, and frankly based upon the biological and social sciences. Only so can our morality hope to keep pace with our technology.

#### NEW PROGRAM FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

■ NOTHING left then for religious education? Quite the contrary. The following program would bring religious education "out of the woods" and provide much to do for some time to come.

1. Improve and adapt present techniques of instruction and worship in order to organize emotions around values established by social sciences. This emotional education now so lacking in public schools will complement the work of public schools, by developing loyalties to sound and scientific moralities and ethics. The age-old methods of singing

hymns, offering prayers, preaching, and the like are effective modes of emotional education. They can be improved in methods of teaching and in utilizing new values that reflect needed behaviors in modern civilization.

2. Non-sectarian instruction in the Bible.

3. Study of sacred literatures and beliefs of other world religions for tolerances toward them.

#### MULTIPLE PERSONALITY

To resume our discussion of personality: the pictures of personality presented so far are relatively simple and somewhat idealized for purposes of analysis. But rarely does one find children with no organizations at all (compare Figure 3, p. 176), nor do the majority of personalities reveal the characteristics represented in Figure 4, p. 184. Especially is the latter true since the isolation of former times is disappearing through the development of new modes of transportation and more important still, the new modes of communication. The modern newspapers, talkies, radio, libraries are bringing the static village community or even the isolated family social world of a farm into an urban range of social interaction. Thereby they introduce into what formerly was a fairly simple type of social situation new and complicated elements and factors. Rural sections are rapidly being urbanized in habits, wishes, ideas and norms of behavior.

It will be most fruitful at this juncture, then, to consider the normal development of personality in an urban environment. Up to this point, the direction of societal pressure has been grasped as single and definite. But this is not true to life. For in ordinary communities there is not one direction but many. A community is made up of groups and social worlds, each of which tends to possess its own norms, language symbols, and interpretations, in short, its own attitudes and values. Therefore, groups and social worlds tend to conflict among themselves, and people who belong to conflicting groups will develop personality traits characteristic of the several memberships and their imposition of divergent values.

The effect of participation in various and divergent groups,

social worlds, or communities is indicated in Figure 5, the behavior pattern of a multiple personality. Even this picture is simplified, for many types could be found much more complex. It may be noted that the chief dominant purpose in this life-scheme conforms to the direction of the community mores as a whole. The original one which was marriage was frustrated because upon the death of the father the woman had to undertake the support of her mother ("turning-point"). Not wishing to ask her future husband to carry this burden, she broke her engagement and took up preparation for teaching. She capitalized her interest in social studies in high school in which she had received her best grades, majored in this subject in a teachers' college and secured a position as teacher of social studies in a high school in a community of over 20,000 population.

In the course of time, she formed contacts that led her into memberships in two social worlds divergent from that of her profession. One is an amateur dramatic society whose activities contributed in no way to her teaching. She had had in childhood wishes to act which she now fulfills. She thus develops an "actor self" by organizing certain of her habits and wishes around roles played in the dramatic presentations. These are not public because the community is dominated by religious groups that disapprove of "the theater and its works." By refraining from public appearances the amateur society succeeds in its purposes without offending the community. This wish-complex or "actor-self" is represented on the south side of the graph, because that is the best place for representing the hobbies, avocations, or recreational activities. But back of this self is the "Play-Reading Club" and back of that the "theatrical world," both of which exert pressures through the prevalent attitudes and norms found therein.

On the other hand, this person makes contacts that lead her into buying stocks through a local broker. She develops a "speculator self" in her purpose to make money as rapidly as possible, in order to give up teaching for marriage, before it is too late. This sort of thing is not approved by the best people, but the broker understands her situation

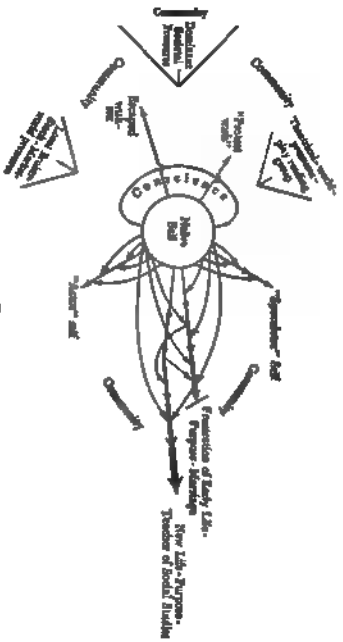


FIG. 5  
PERSONALITY GROWTH -  
MULTIPLE PERSONALITY PATTERNS



and by refraining from gossip helps her to carry on these activities without offense to the community authorities. The local broker represents in this case the "stock-market world" and mediates to her the attitudes and values that characterize that social world of the financiers and speculators.

Thus instead of one self, her personality is a number of selves or personalities, each with its own organization, its own distinct status in divergent social worlds. When in school, she does not buy stocks, nor read plays; and when in the broker's office, she does not teach social studies nor read plays; and when with the "Play-Reading Club" she does not teach social studies nor buy stocks. Thus her behavior is distinct in each social situation and is that which enables her to adjust herself to the values of the group she is with.

She has certain leanings toward "economic reorganization" because of her wishes for social justice, but in a very reactionary community, she dare not admit such attitudes for fear of being dubbed a "Bolshevik" and for fear of losing her job. So, once in a long while she attends meetings at a university in a nearby large city to express her "protests."

The "escaped wish" breaking through conscience has expressed itself on one of these visits to the city when she engaged in a "petting party" with one whom she knew only slightly—an action she later regretted and felt ashamed of.

These suggestions should allow the student to make a study of himself and develop skill in observing the behavioristic aspects of pupil personality against the backgrounds of the groups and social worlds that enter into the determination of that personality.

#### TYPES OF PERSONALITY

THOUGH there is not at present any classification of types of personality that is generally acceptable, because each list stresses those aspects that are of special interest to the author, nevertheless the following varieties are suggestive of modes of approach.

## PHYSIOLOGICAL TYPES

FIRST, there is the classification of the endocrinologists that stresses the organic or physiological basis of behavior or behavior-pattern. It is known that the endocrines, or ductless glands, play an important part in conditioning the functioning of the various organs of the body. Normally, they preserve a sort of balance—hence "hormones" as a name sometimes used for endocrines—of function among the organs. Manifestly then, if some of the endocrines do not function normally but defectively or excessively, others do double duty in order to provide the necessary physiological compensation.

For this reason a person may develop not only distinctive physical traits but also behavior peculiarities. A person who shows marked physiological conditioning of personality traits is called an "endocrine personality." Such may be an "adrenal personality." This type is dominated by excessive or defective adrenal functioning. If defective, then the person tends to be conservative, backward, fearful, cowardly, and evasive. If excessive, the person shows marks of courage, foolhardiness, bravery, aggressiveness, initiative, ambition. Or again, the "pituitary personality," the "fair, fat, and forty type." "Thyroid personality" in children is marked by physical stigmata of staring eyes, open mouth, and general mental and physical incompetency. When fed thyroid such children become normal both in their physical appearance and in mental ability, provided they are otherwise normal. The "thymocentric personality" is feminoid or represented by the "ethereal" type.

The "sexual personality" is one who may be excessively sexed or defectively sexed. Some instances may include the so-called born "homosexuals" but not those who acquire homosexual tendencies. The defectively sexed persons have been called "Uranians" by Carpenter in *Love's Coming of Age*. In this book he pleads for intelligent appreciation of the problems of social adjustment which neutrally-sexed persons inevitably face; he argues that in place of marriage such

persons should develop careers and thus live useful lives and secure happiness through their work.

The foregoing classification is helpful in understanding the importance of the physiological factors that condition behavior but it fails to include due consideration of other factors.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

THE CURRENT literature of psychology with which the reader is sufficiently familiar reveals a classification of personalities as follows: "subnormal" types of weak persons, idiots, imbeciles, and morons; "abnormal" types of weak persons, psychopaths, neuropaths, and other forms of the mentally ill; "normal" types of strong, competent persons whose intelligence is adequate or of the genius level and whose habits are satisfactorily developed.

This classification too emphasizes unduly the rôle of certain organs, nerves, brain, and the like, when they are merely some of many factors conditioning behavior. As such it really belongs with the first list because all the terms so far presented are suggestive or descriptive of organic functioning.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL TYPES

UNDER sociological types may be listed classifications according to institutional participations, community organizations, culture areas, universes of discourse, groups and social worlds. They too may be criticised as partial and inadequate scientifically but they refer more completely to the total functioning of a personality than do the other two types listed. They lack precision of definition and analysis which would reveal just how *ON* (or physiological functioning) and *C* and *T* mutually conditioned the total development of a personality and his behavior.

Following the discussion of personality as wish-organization and status we may note: (1) those whose wishes are organized predominantly around wishes for new experiences; (2) those whose wishes are organized predominantly around wishes for security; (3) around personal response; (4) around dominance. By noting the type of wishes pre-

dominantly satisfied, a significant clue for interpretation and description is available.

The "Bohemian" (W. L. Thomas) is representative of the first of these. He is the "rolling-stone that gathers no moss" — but he may get a polski! He is the "thrill-chaser" or the "excitement-eater" of juvenile jargon. The "sportsman," as Veblen designated him, who is a conspicuous consumer in his pursuit of "pleasure." He is the tramp, one who tramps and does not work, whether as a "globe-trotter" with money he travels "de lux" or without money, "rides the rods" under the freight cars "ex lux"! He is the changeling that flits from one thing to another, lacks stability, and craves adventure in gambling, speculation, or in pioneering, or in art.

The second may be called according to Thomas, the "Philistine." "Safety first" is his motto, insurance, his technic. He is the one who carries his umbrellas for a few clouds in the sky, and cries, "Revolution" or "Sacrilege" against a new idea in politics or religion. The defection of youth from the "ways of our fathers" turns gray his hair; and the changing ways of life should be "condemned from the house tops." He is the conservative and reactionary in politics; the pacifist in international relations; the fundamentalist in religion, the moralist in the home; the bum, one who does not tramp and does not work. He may be "practical" and "hardheaded" like the traditional New England Yankee.

The third are "vamps": a mother who exploits her rôle of mother to keep her children dependent ("The Silver Cord"); a father whose whole objective in life is to be loved dearly by his children; a lover or friend who makes love or friendship the chief business of life; the teacher who develops a "crush" relation with a pupil.

Fourth, are the "bullies," dictators, militarists, domineering persons whose rôles are "matters to be obeyed." Such are the "professional Nordics," the "missionaries" who take "the 'only' salvation to all the world," the social "lions," the fashion-setters, the racketeers, gang leaders, the exploiters, whether illegal and criminal or within the law — from thieves to ruthless financiers, the Césars, Napoleons,

Khengis Khans, the educational administrators who rule dogmatically.

Other types may be found who in a predominant way organize their wishes not around one only but about two or more. For example, a hobo—one who dramps and works—combines new experience and security; a wife, personal response and security; a "K. K. K." or a "hundred percenter," dominance and security; "a defender of lost causes," dominance and new experience.

On the other hand, there is, according to W. I. Thomas, the "Creator type" of personality. He combines all wishes in a balanced way and represents liberalism, evolutionary change, humanism, and the values of social order. He devotes his life to no one wish alone and does not allow himself to become blind-spoiled by attractive shibboleths and slogans. He shifts his habits and attitudes as facts warrant and his intelligence directs. He is adjustable. Flexible, sensitive. In short, the desirable type.

Let the teacher ask himself: Which type am I?—and: Toward which type am I influencing my pupils?

Other classifications of practical values are: professional types, such as doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, bankers; trade or craft types—miners, carpenters, engineers; race and nationality types, Jew, "Kike," "Wop," "Uncle Sam," "John Bull"; herd types, Rouarian, Kiwanian, fraternity brother, gang member; traitor types, "stool pigeons"; types created by group systems of values, reformers, "American beauty," soldiers; or those defined by group attitudes such as "Reds."

In conclusion may be noted the modern concept of personality in contrast to the traditional notion. The theological interpretation of personality as the soul with its innate depravity and predetermination has given way to the scientific one that defines personality as the organization of habits and attitudes and emotions around certain life purposes that create a status in life. Such a definition makes possible objective analysis of personality and a quantitative treatment of data that provides indexes of personality qualities and growths.

Educators need to be close students of personality and the techniques that are being developed to analyze developing qualities and evaluate their worth to the persons themselves as well as to the communities in which they may live. Manifestly some types are better suited to certain types of communities than others. The stable types will adjust successfully in static communities, the creative types in dynamic communities. But the problem is not so simple as this might indicate, for it could be argued that the static community needs just the contributions that the creative type can make. But when we educate for leadership we may well remember that we are educating for a certain amount of maladjustment. Prophets as well as priests are needed.

#### THE PERSONALITY RECORD

THE NEED of personality data properly recorded is becoming increasingly recognized wherever problems of personal adjustment are encountered. In social work in connection with social agencies of relief, correction, and the like, as well as in hospitals and in some doctors' offices, the social case history has become indispensable. In personnel management, in department stores and factories, records are being kept. In vocational guidance they are an essential part of the technique. And in education the simple records of earlier years are giving way to the extended records of the visiting teachers in handling problem pupils.

#### DEFECTS OF TYPICAL RECORDS

UNFORTUNATELY, however, many of the records kept are full of inadequacies. Such are unscientific data because in some instances objective methods of observation and recording are not sufficiently developed. Or again the record may be misleading, for the terms used are vague or too meager; frequently there is a lack of agreement as to the meanings of the categories employed. Frequently, too, the recorder reveals an inability to write clearly and accurately or a failure to note the significant aspects of just what was done in order to get the results recorded. Personal bias in times operates to skew the data. And finally, there are often inadequate

investigation and snap judgments for impartial scrutiny of the facts. But these can all be eliminated in time by professional improvement of practices. Meanwhile it may be noted that as recording becomes more and more a part of the teacher's work, courses should be offered in teaching-preparation that would aid teachers in improving their observations and records of personality-trends of pupils.

The teacher has many opportunities to assist in building up such records. Though she may not be primarily responsible, she can aid the central office by noting and reporting from time to time the characteristics revealed in classroom, playground, or in extra-curricular activities where certain behavior traits are revealed more readily than in the more formal situations in the school.

#### THE DEVELOPING RECORD

SUCH personality records might well begin with the parents. True, they will have to be educated along this line, but parental education and child-study and domestic science should incorporate such teaching materials in their courses. Pre-natal and post-natal data, the characteristics of the personalities of the various members of the family, the early behavior of the child, his first learnings, his developing tendencies, physical, mental, and social, could be noted up to the time the child goes to school. The record could then be transmitted to the school authorities and passed from grade to grade until the child graduates, when it could be given to the person himself or to his parents. Such a record would be of tremendous value in guidance of children by parents, teachers, or social workers, and would be utilized not only for correction and adjustment of problem children but also for constructive effort in growth or in preventive guidance.

It will take some time until such an ideal can be realized but no less should be the aim of education in dealing with children.

#### CONTENTS OF AN IMPROVED RECORD

FOLLOWING is an outline of the types of data we now know to be essential:

## A. Individual data

1. Physical features and characteristics to be secured by anthropometrical examinations—physical measurements.
2. Organic traits—medical examinations will reveal defects of structure or function, the latter particularly with reference to endocrines.
3. Mental characteristics secured by intelligence tests and achievement tests, illustrated by the work of Terman and other psychologists.
4. Emotional equipment. This is secured by methods of testing behavior or controlled conditions and gives an affectivity score as in the work of Fessley.
5. The will profile secured by behavior tests as in the work of June Downey.
6. Temperament traits. This entails securing the judgments of associates who are competent by training and skill to offer reliable data.  
(NOTE: While the methods suggested under 3, 4, 5, 6 are open to criticisms, they are constantly being refined and made more reliable.)
7. Heredity—a biological record covering the physical data on ancestors together with behaviors that are indicative of heredity causation principally. Such data are illustrated by the monographs published by the Eugenics Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York.

## B. Personal data—the experience record and sociological information.

(NOTE: The methods of study are field investigation, interviews with the person and with relatives, friends, and associates, confessional letters or documents such as diaries, self-analysis—the weakest method of them all but sociologically valuable for giving a picture of the person's conception of himself and his rôle, judgment of traits by those familiar with the person—to get the person's objective self—together with their estimates by using the method of ranking according to categories and weights set up for the study, and finally



tests of traits, and attitudes, and of behavior under controlled conditions of observation.)

1. Home, neighborhood, and community conditions

(NOTE: These data do not have to be secured for each child separately, for such information could be made available in the findings of the sociological division of the educational bureau of research and organized for constant use and reference in a central office. To this the principal or visiting teacher or classroom teacher could repair as necessary to get a picture of the child's background conditions.)

a. Physical features—geographies, gullies, rivers, canals, woods, fields, and the like. (NOTE: These are sometimes significantly associated with types of behavior. The Cleveland Recreation Survey revealed that a delinquent gang met regularly in a gully on the outskirts of the city. When that was eliminated, this source of delinquency vanished.)

b. Technological features—the material culture traits—housing and home equipment, personal equipment such as own sleeping room or bed, clothes and such, streets, car-lines, institutional agencies such as churches, schools, playgrounds, and the like, residences, businesses, factories, wharves, and the like—these set the stage and determine the kinds of suggestions that play upon children and fix the fundamental features of the social soils in which they grow

c. Numbers and kinds of people—races and nationalities, languages and dress, degree of congestion or isolation in population and its distribution and its attitudes. The latter can be secured by tests indicating social distance attitudes as in "race prejudice."

d. Groups and social worlds

(1) The ecological distribution of groups.

(NOTE: Social soils grow distinctive groups as miners' unions in coal areas, gangs ■

wharf areas, boys' clubs in "Gold Coast" areas.)

- (2) Value and attitude complexes that characterize groups or social worlds secured by
  - (a) Analysis of group behavior and records, if any.
  - (b) Discovery of general social attitudes by using attitude tests.
  - (c) Attitudes toward the person studied. (Note: These will need to be gathered specifically by test or interview or observation of how associates behave in relation to subject.)
- (3) Extent of memberships in groups—the participation quotient. This indicates the kinds and degrees of memberships by typical persons in school or community. Thus all the groups or social worlds can be indexed for membership quotients and rated according to their worth to persons or communities.
- (4) Performance in groups—the performance quotient. This is the ratio between the activities that might be performed and those that are actually carried on. It is the difference between theory and practice, say in school or church.
- (5) Person's rôle in groups—a study of attitudes of the person toward the several groups to which he belongs and their attitudes toward him. This gives his objective self and his mirror self.
  - (a) The socialization quotient—By personal-attitudes test discover the ratio between the complex of group-attitudes and those the person has acquired. This will reveal the degree of homogeneity or divergence between a person and his groups.

## 2. Personal experiences

## a. Habits revealed in home, street, school, etc.

(Note: These are secured by methods of personal interview, field observation, psychiatric analysis, and confessional document—letters, diaries, English compositions, and the like.)

## b. Achievements

(1) Grades, promotions, savings, earnings, personal health, and efficiency, to be secured by ranking by associates, tests, observation, and confessional interview with person.

## c. Behavior under crisis—secured by methods same as above.

## d. Summary of behavior traits as generally

(1) Objective or direct

(2) Introspective or indirect

(3) Psychopathic or perverse

(Note: determined by expert sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists.)

## 3. Life-purpose

## a. The dominant wish or wishes revealed by

(1) Practical plans or hopes for immediate future

(2) Relation of present behavior to practical plans

(3) Plans and hopes for more remote future

(4) Relation of present behavior to remote plans

(Note: These are secured by interview with person and associates and by confession, oral or written. They can be quantified by data on time spent on immediate or remote purposes.)

## b. Degree of organization of attitudes around the dominant attitude to be revealed by psychiatric and sociological analysis, by attitude tests and by objective observation and record of behavior harmonies or divergencies. Data on actual achievements are pertinent again at this point.

## c. Evaluation of personal attitudes and organization

- (1) Comparison of personal attitudes with social attitudes under B, 1, d, etc.
- (2) Comparison of personal behavior and life-purpose with societal conventions and norms as measuring-sticks of conformity.

(Note: These can be secured, though as yet not very reliably, by rankings of items by associates, by number and types of maladjustments, and by data revealed in the various quotients listed above.)

One general criticism of the foregoing is that the difficulty of analyzing out the operation of a specific self in an interview or test has not yet been completely eliminated though Hartshorne and May in their character investigations have made some progress in this direction. Another is that the judgments of associates or so-called juries is often too unreliable because of ignorance of the subject, erroneous observations, or wrong interpretations of behavior. Such difficulties need not deter educators from advances in personality record. Rather they should spur educational researches further to develop and refine techniques of study.

### READINGS

Krueger and Rockwell, *Social Psychology*, Ch. 11 (The Nature of Personality) and Ch. 12 (Traits of Personality). Appendix B (The Life History of OT) a controversial document. Good supplementary reading to what is presented in the text.

Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 111-126 (Personality and the Social Self). Illuminating materials.

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*, Chs. 19 and 25.

Boorman, W. R., *Personality in Its Terms*, New York, Macmillan 1951. Practical and clear with case material.

Dawson and Gestys, *Introduction to Sociology*, Ch. 1 (The Local Social World) and Part III (Society and the Person). Further good case material; stresses social backgrounds.

Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl*, Ch. 1 (The Regulation of the Wishes).

Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Ch. 10, (The Social Aspect of Conscience).

Boorman, W. R., *Developing Personality in Boys*, Macmillan 1930. Chs. 2, 3 (The Organization of Personality).

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology*, Ch. 5 (Personality — The Social Man).

Bernard, L. L., *Social Psychology*, Ch. 15 (The Attitudes and Personality).

#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is it true that adult behavior shows higher organization than child behavior? Present evidence for your position.
2. How would you set up an experimental investigation to compare degrees of behavior organization among children 8-9, 14-16?
3. How does organization of pupil behavior reveal organization of curriculum in a school?
4. What criticisms can you offer of the Child Pattern of Personality Growth on p. 176?
5. How far do you agree that some form of punishment is necessary for child growth?
6. How can you show the effect upon pupil growth in personality of his conception of his rôle in his social world?
7. What suggestions have you for evaluating desirable degrees of personality organization?
8. What criticisms have you of pp. 201-203?
9. Suggest means by which school records of pupils could be practically improved.

#### EXERCISES

1. Present case illustrations from school experience as student or teacher of any one of the following methods of handling wishes:
  - A. Suppression
  - B. Redirection
    - (1) Realization
    - (2) Glamorization
  - C. Accentuation
2. Make a graph of the natural history of your personality indicating the specific social worlds of cumulative influence.
3. Make a graph of intersecting circles to show your groups and your total social world.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE SOCIAL NATURE OF HABITS AND THINKING

THE PRIOR developments of psychological studies have been such that the sociological aspects have failed to receive due consideration in educational theory. In the effort to make such studies scientific, emphasis has been placed upon particularistic emphases of behavior to a neglect of a total personality in a total social situation. Thus habits and thinking have been analyzed as bits of behavior and have come to be thought of as strictly psychological terms. Unless we are content to define habits as "neural pathways," or "organic sets," or "mental sets," and the like—merely in terms of the neuro-muscular mechanisms, we are compelled to other considerations for an adequate conception of what habits are and how they arise. If behavior is a function of a situation and all situations, practically speaking, in which persons find themselves are social, then it follows that the foregoing is entirely too partial an explanation for a complex totality. There is no objection to the psychological contribution to defining the rôle the neuro-muscular mechanisms play in habit behavior; objection is here taken against accepting such an incomplete or adequate pictures of reality.

Habits are no more distinctly psychological concepts than they are sociological. As we have seen previously, the organism is a behavior pattern, but so also is culture. Again it is not a question of "either or" but of "both and." Habits are products of both organism and culture through time.

As already pointed out, habits come from original behaviors of infants as conditioned by the cultures of their

social worlds. They are considered as relatively specific behaviors for specific situations. They also come from wishes expressed and satisfied by persons old enough to have wishes. It is therefore difficult to find pure organic behaviors except in very young infants.

Old habits are products of social experience and since they enter into the conditioning of new habits there is a double conditioning by social experience — that is the time and that of the past. Wishes as initiators of new habits are similarly significant for, as already shown, they are products of social experience.

#### WHAT ARE HABITS?

HABITS are forms of behavior whose characteristics in recurrence are sufficiently alike to be recognizable. They are the stable, persistent, continuous behaviors of a personality.

#### SOCIOLOGY OF HABIT FORMATION

THE PROCESSES by which societal pressures operate to control personal behavior have already been noted. The initial behaviors of infants as well as the tentative trial behaviors of older persons meet with judgments and treatments by others. Whatever is condemned or conditioned by punishment of various sorts tends to be cut off or unrepeatable. What is approved continues and is repeated. The kinds of recurrent behaviors that any person reveals definitely depend upon the *cosmos* and *ethos* of the social worlds and the societal treatments of personal behavior.

The so-called "misfittingness" of habit is to be found not only in what is called "organic readiness" or even mere organic functioning but also in the way the habit initiates, defends, or re-enforces a social status in a social world that harmonizes with a person's ideal self.

In personal economy a habit is "good" if it makes for social adjustment and brings the status desired. That is, it is good if it results in a mirror self that fits the ideal self of a person. Also in personal economy, a habit is "good" if it adds to the total economy, if it harmonizes with the life-scheme and furthers the life-purpose. A habit is "bad" if

■ endangers social status or detracts from the life-organization, or interferes with the life-purpose.

Similarly in societal economy, a habit is "good" or "bad" according to its likeness to or difference from prevalent habits as organized in customs, institutions, and laws. Depending upon societal judgments, habits may form and continue or be inhibited or suppressed. Every human habit is a reflection of societal attitudes, evaluations or appraisals, and values or culture.

Another societal basis of habit is culture continuity. In a period of great culture changes some habits are found to be worthless. So they disappear and new ones, as functions of new situations, appear. But for either old ones or the development of new ones, the situations must recur in order to have habitistic behavior. This repetitive character of social situations depending upon societal attitudes and values, upon societal trends in the mores and themes, upon technological and geographical conditions, is as necessary to an understanding of habit as is that of the organic aspects ■ neural and muscular connections.

For example, I have a habit which has entered into the formation of a wish to wear a cap and gown into the lecture hall. I picture myself fulfilling this wish and meeting disapproval in the smiles of others and in a further picture of myself rushing to catch a train after the lecture with my black robes flying in the air. The speed of modern life, even academic, rules out the costumes of the leisurely life of earlier universities in Europe. The behavior does not fit the modern situation, so it is discarded as a tool of personal adjustment. When in the Orient, I regularly carried a cane, because it was done and I liked the suggestions it contained. Back in America, I have not carried one for years and have a brief period of mental conflict when I consider doing so, with the usual negative decision. Behavioristically, therefore, where is my cane-carrying habit? "In the organism," comes the reply. But what of it, if it does not get expression?



## CULTURE AS HABIT

THE EXPERIENCES and achievements of men are built into culture. Words as well as things created capture them and make them permanent acquisitions. They surround us and offer definitions of behavior when otherwise we should have to work our way patiently and laboriously through every ordinary situation. Culture is human habit as distinguished from animal habit developed through time. It continues irrespective of the momentary changes of personality or of the generations that follow on in endless succession. The behaviors developed under the suggestions of culture occur as the culture tools — words or things — are found to fit the recurrent situations of which they were created. Habits thus depend upon culture recurrence.

Habits of pencil-writing are expressed when pencils and paper as tools of adjustment are at hand. Without them, the habits do not occur.

## NON-EXISTENCE OF "PURE" HABITS

FROM the strictly behavioristic point of view, habits are overt or expressed behaviors. To say they exist in the organism leads to confusion for this implies that they become overt whether or not situations for which the habits are natural functions exist. Hence the old fallacious theory of transfer of learning. It is hardly possible therefore to consider habits merely in terms of their registration in the organic bases of behavior. Defined strictly as such, "pure" habits do not exist. Behavior, being a function of a total situation, must be defined in terms of totality. Habits include, then, not only the effects of past experiences upon the organism, but also (a) the recurrence of cultural elements as suggestions, (b) the recurrence of factors conditioning the initiation and development of habits—for habits are lost when situations that called them forth no longer exist—(c) upon the societal approvals that sanctioned the habit behavior as tools of personality adjustment (d) and finally upon the continuity or change of the personality itself. When, to satisfy different wishes or new life-purposes, per-

sons enter new social worlds that present new and different situations, the habits previously established that no longer function disappear. Habits, like wishes, must be defined in bio-institutional terms.

#### "INSTINCTIVE" BEHAVIOR

SOME confusion may be avoided if, instead of speaking of "instincts" in explanation of adult behavior, we employ the term "instinctive." Habits are not instincts though some may develop from the original nature of a new-born infant. But generally they are instinctive in that they function for quick and effective adjustments to repetitive situations. They thus in the human sphere displace "instinct" of the sub-human world. Not because they are lost or because many new ones are developed, man possesses a flexibility of adaptation to the multitude of new social situations created by inventions—ideological or technological—which lower types of animals cannot approximate. These instinctive or habit behaviors conserve energy and effort for wider ranges of experience in adventurous experiment and invention. They make it possible to devote more energy to the development of wishes and thus to achieve control of crisis situations as they develop.

Personal habits make for personal continuity both organically and socially. They are the stable elements of personality; the bases of dependability and societal solidity and continuity. As the keel of a sailing ship, they ballast the wishes.

#### INADEQUACY OF HABITS

IMPORTANT as habits are in personal and societal economy, they are inadequate as adjustment to new or crisis situations. Other techniques of adjustment are necessary and it is here that wishes and thinking arise.

The reasons for such inadequacies are numerous: organic changes that shift the qualities of the bases of behavior; personality changes in wishes or attitudes or in life-purposes; environmental changes in culture due to loss of culture transmission to co-existing generations or to invention; environ-

mental changes due to shift in situation as in mobility; the same due to change of status because of changes in attitudes of the social world toward a person as a member of it, and the like. These might be summed up as changes of personality and changes of environment.

The organism should be included in the environment of the personality. The environment in which changes occur is then partly organic and partly societal, the latter including culture, societal attitudes, and the like.

Inadequacy of habit arises then from *intrinsic personality changes* which shift the needs of the personality itself or from *extrinsic personality changes* which shift the environmental situation of the personality. The latter, as noted, would include bodily changes. In short, changes in the tools that the personality uses to maintain social status. The student can readily cite examples of environmental changes ranging from natural catastrophes, such as earthquakes, to organic changes, such as severe headaches, or culture changes, such as modified rules in a teachers' college.

When habits are inadequate, some other behavior is needed.

#### FALLACIES OF THINKING

THE OTHER behavior that is needed is thinking.

But "thinking" is another one of those common terms used with all sorts of meanings. A minister exhorts us, "Whatsoever things are true — whatsoever things are of good report, think on these things." Teachers say to pupils, "Now think hard." But is this thinking or recalling from memory, or is it picturing a set of ideals or standards of conduct? How often does one say, "I feel we ought to do more reading for this course"? Should feeling be confused with thinking? Do we express our feelings in words and call that thinking? And is meditating thinking or daydreaming — letting pictures, so to speak, float through our "minds"? Perhaps what is needed is classification of modes of thinking. We might distinguish meditative thinking, reflective thinking, memory recall, critical thinking, analytical thinking, but

the present writer prefers to reserve the term *thinking* for that cycle of conscious readjustments made necessary by a crisis situation.

Merely exhortation does not make people think in this sense of the term. Nor is it true to say: most people don't think. All people think with varying degrees of efficiency. What we really mean by our snobbish assertion is that most people do not think about the things that concern us. That is the same as suggesting that what concerns us does not concern most people. When our concerns become their concerns, they too think, if these concerns represent *crises*. Thus the bootmaker down the street does not "think." That is, he does not think about how to keep America from entering entangling alliances in Europe, how to prevent war, how to perform an experiment in chemistry, how to develop tests for the measurement of qualitative outcomes in education, or how to remove corruption from city administration. But he thinks a-plenty about his own problems: how to increase his trade, how to pay his rent, how to marry off his daughter, and many other matters within the range of his experience. Because of our education and broad contacts and human sympathies we may have more things to think about than the bootmaker, for we may be sensitive to the existence of crises not only in our own homely affairs but also in the world at large. But that is no reason for charging the bootmaker with inability to think at all. After all, we may well temper our attitudes toward the bootmaker with a humility derived from the fact that many others look upon us much as we look upon the bootmaker.

The assumption that those who are graduated from schools or colleges are "thinking" people is also unsound. Their unawareness to societal problems, due to inadequate education in the social sciences, leaves them at a disadvantage when compared with labor unionists, socialists, I W W's, and the like, who though economically low reveal intense activity in thinking on great societal issues of peace and war, capital and labor, religion and science, and many others. Except the exceedingly defective ones, all persons think about the problems of which they are aware.

The notion that an effective thinker in one field is ipso facto an effective thinker in another is also fallacious.

#### THE CYCLE OF THINKING

THE CYCLE of readjustment which we here call thinking is as follows: (1) habitistic activity, (2) inhibition or cessation of habit involved in a crisis, (3) analysis of the crisis-situation which includes (a) observation or sensory report on the situation, (b) perception of implications, (c) inference as to new behaviors, and (4) reconstruction of activity on a new level.

#### CHAIRS

THE BULK of human behavior is habit. It is unconscious, unthinking behavior. It is immediate experience and involves none of the selves except the naive self. The ideal self and the mirror self come into existence only in function in choice-making which is a part of thinking. Immediate experience is experience not mediated by these selves as conscious processes in personal adjustment.

That is, one sits in a chair in its old familiar position without thinking of its being there at all, the whole situation being a mere repetition of many previous occasions as adjusted to by the previously successful behavior or habits. But let that chair be removed so that one sits on the floor. A crisis occurs which now concentrates attention on the chair. One now becomes "conscious" of the chair. "Chair" is now a matter of the mirror self, for one gets a picture of oneself as contracted, that is, as laughed at by others because of lost dignity. Thus the chair which served a person in the maintenance of status through exhibiting proper or expected behavior is the conditioner of lost status. For this reason the chair is now significant. Otherwise it is simply taken as "there" and sat upon—mere sensory report and habit behavior with no consciousness involved.

Or consider another example. Morning after morning I use a motor car and a road as tools to transport myself from a suburb twenty miles out of a city into a classroom in a university. Many a time have I arrived in the class without thinking of the trip but with much thinking of what I intend

to do and say in chess. A certain spot near a large tree beside the road I had never "noticed" until one morning at that point the road was blocked by an obstruction plainly visible at 200 yards away. What did I do?

#### INHIBITION OF HABIT

Now if at that obstruction point my habit behavior is expressed as on the many mornings previously, driving my car at thirty-five miles an hour, I shall crash into the obstruction. My mirror self contracts because I see myself injured physically, my car damaged with the ensuing repair outlay, other wishes for which I was going to use such money remaining unsatisfied, professional status in my academic social world threatened because of my inability to meet the class group expectations, as well as those of my superior officers in the university administration. The significance of the obstruction arises from its relation to my pursuit of wish satisfactions — to get the maintenance of my professional status which in turn implies my social status.

Whereas previously this point in the road like all the others was a tool that facilitated the maintenance of my status, now it is a hindrance to that very object and as such demands my attention. For the first time, I notice the big tree; for the first time I am conscious of it. That is to say, for the first time it has a relation to my mirror and ideal selves. If I go on as usual not only the obstruction but my damaged car also will become a liability to the maintenance of my status, as suggested above.

This contracted mirror self is compared with the ideal self and found wanting — my reputation for promptness will be ruined. My ideal self as a teacher will be endangered.

Now all this takes less time than to describe it but my ideal self, "better judgment," commands my naïve self to mobilize a set of car-stopping habits instead of the complex of car-running habits.

#### LENGTH OF HABIT INHIBITION

THE PERIOD of inhibition will depend upon the complexity of the crisis. If the crisis is relatively simple, not much

slowing up of habits will be required. If a chair has been moved slightly from its accustomed place, I slow up enough to move it back and then sit down—a matter of a few moments. If my pen is gone, I look about for it or find another. If my textbook has disappeared I take off twenty minutes to walk to the bookstore to purchase another. To get a license to teach, a very complex problem because of the requirements set up by laws and by the teaching profession, I take out two to four years of time from teaching activities to solve the crisis. Later if I have reached the top salary, I take out a year to secure an M A degree in a teachers' college. Still later, to win a Ph D. degree I take out another one to two years.

In assigning lessons to pupils, allowances are made for varying lengths of periods of inhibition. If the crisis is difficult—such as reading a whole book to make a report on its contents—a week or a month may be allowed; if it is relatively simple—fifteen to thirty pages of text material, one to two days are allowed. The study periods are periods of inhibition from regular recitation or report habits to allow students to solve their crises—that is, master the material or solve the problems.

In great collective crises long periods of inhibition may be involved. In building the George Washington bridge over the Hudson River in New York, opened in 1931, five years were taken in investigating the best location. Social surveys, educational inquiries, crime investigations are further examples of collective inhibitions.

#### MILLING

THE *REUOUS* of inhibition of established habits is a period preparatory to thinking. It is a period of milling. This milling may be physical, as when one looks here and there, downstairs and upstairs for the mislaid text, or ideological, as when one casts about for words to express conceptions. It may be personal or collective. Collective milling is illustrated in the general unrest of a student body before a big football game; the running hither and thither to gather up

one's belongings when leaving school for home, in riots, bread riots, strike riots, and the like.

#### DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION

THE FUNCTION ■ the milling or the period of inhibition of established habits is to allow time to define the situation and locate just what the difficulty or trouble is that creates the crisis. In milling, personal or collective, people are casting about to discover what has gone wrong. Without definition of the situation solution of the crisis would be impossible.

#### RATIONALIZATION

FREQUENTLY people will rationalize the situation. That is, they crash on by "excuses" or "alibis" to justify to themselves or others what they have done. Or if they seek an explanation they do not check up on its accuracy. They are dominated by wishful thinking and make the facts fit their wishes instead of making their wishes evolve from the facts.

#### SCAPEGOATING




OR THEY will fix the responsibility upon someone or something besides themselves and justify their actions by blaming others. They scapegoat as is convenient to their purposes. Thus if farmers on the Pacific coast do not succeed economically, they scapegoat the Japanese; if murder is committed in the South, the local folk may mob and lynch a Negro, sometimes cruelly condemning an innocent person. A murder is committed; somebody did it, only these despised ones could do a thing like that; therefore — . . . and so the story usually goes. The Wets scapegoat the Drys for the increase of crime and vice versa; educational administrators tend to scapegoat teachers and vice versa for educational inadequacies. Our behaviors in crisis situations tend to be highly emotionalized. The only prophylaxis for the dangers of crisis-emotion is thinking, which in its highly organized form is science.



## SCIENCE AS TRUE RATIONALIZATION

NOW ANY effort to explain and to solve a crisis is rationalization, or the application of reason. When the scientific methods are applied to the solution of a problem, then rationalization of the valid sort is achieved. In general, then, the task of education would seem to be as to help people that they may learn to substitute scientific rationalization for scapegoating. The problem is to think first and then act instead of acting first and trying to think up justifying reasons for the action. Thought thus becomes the rectifier and guide of emotionalized behavior; it is activity experimented with first through ideas and then through tentative try-outs of actual behavior. When this happens the chances of success are greater because past experience of others may be utilized. Consider the economy of engaging capable engineers to architect a bridge before a contract is let or a bolt heated. Courses are architected in curricula but curricula are still architected by the wishful thinkings of educational philosophy. Only the scientific analysis of objective societal data to tease out the resources that need conservation and the shortages that need remedying can rationalize in the valid sense either curricula or school objectives. As noted before, that involves differential socioanalysis of persons and communities, groups, and social worlds and not easy generalizations about remote purposes of man or the ultimate meaning of life. They lie beyond us anyway, so why waste time on them. It is enough to take the next steps intelligently.

So, when I see the obstruction ahead, I may keep on going and say, "I'm dreaming. There cannot be anything there. I have gone past this place hundreds of times. It must be an illusion." Substituting fictions for realities I crash, blaming my suffering upon the county authorities, or my eyeglasses, or anything else convenient to scapegoat. By transferring the explanation from the thing or situation to myself I fix myself up as I prefer by creating the mirror into which I look. Explaining away fictionally is effort to control the objective self by suggesting to others just how they should regard us when adjoining ourselves to a crisis.

Or, guided by past experience with road obstructions, I face reality and slow up, depending upon how complex the situation is. If there are six feet between the end of the obstruction and the fence,  that I can readily see a chance  passing by, I slow up enough to drive through carefully and successfully.  not, I may come eventually to a complete stop.

#### ANALYSIS OF A SITUATION

THE PERIOD of milling or inhibition of overt personal or collective behavior allows time for the business of finding out what is wrong and what should be done about it — always with the objective — to maintain status. The process of locating the difficulty and analyzing the situation is thinking.

If, as suggested above, the situation is complex, the first task is to break it up into amenable parts. The reality is stolid and resistant, so to speak, in that it is impossible to take it all in within the time allowed between the moment the obstruction is first noted and the "crash-moment."

This fracturing of reality is done by sensory reports on the situation. I stop my car, get out, look at the obstruction, notice a sign, read: "Danger, tree falling." I note the size of the tree, the split in its trunk, the nearness of my car. I compare the height of the tree with the width of the road. These are all reports from my sense of sight, sense experiences, or percepts by which I discover the nature of the external object — data gathered on the situation. I look at my watch, recall that the distance back to the last cross-road is five miles, note that my time is limited. What shall I do?

#### DATA OF WORDS IN THINKING

THAT data gathered by my senses are captured in words. But words are ships with cargoes of suggestions depending upon the meanings that past experiences have put into them. If I had not seen a split tree before and had no experience concerning them the words "split tree" would mean nothing to me. My knowledge would be too defective to enable me to interpret the significance of the danger or crisis aspect of the situation. Consider in this connection a child ap-

proaching a vicious dog or an inexperienced person taking hold of a live wire or stepping on a third rail. Our ability to adjust ourselves or solve crises clearly depends upon our knowledge relevant to the situation. By words the data may be classified and compared.

#### VICARIOUS VS. ACTUAL EXPERIENCE

At this point the student may well ask, "How is one to achieve sufficient knowledge to solve the great variety of life's complex problems today?" Manifestly it is impossible to get all knowledge by first-hand experiences or experimentally. It may be that we can never know anything completely without experiencing it, though perhaps completely enough to achieve satisfactory adjustments. Here is where vicarious experience plays its important rôle in securing knowledge. It enables us to profit by experiences of others, avoid their mistakes, and exploit their successes. Words capture these experiences and in the course of time the meanings of the words are caught and made a part of one's memory, to be recalled and utilized for interpretation of later situations, as occasions require.

Literature and language are thus fundamental to human nature and the achievement of knowledge, vicariously. That is why there should be no censorship. That is why, in learning any science, it is necessary to acquire the concepts and categories and their definitions. These words or pictures symbolize the scientific representations of realities, and are the tools of communicating these pictures to others. Words in print are doubly important as records and as solutions.

#### RECORDS OF DATA

So the data observed by the senses being captured in words are now ready for interpretation. Road, car, tree falling, physical danger, get through, reach class on time, are examples of the record I make of the situation. They all have meaning because they represent past experiences of my own, either actual or vicarious—I read of a tree crashing on a car, which is a picture now serviceable in helping me to define the situation. From this past experience that enables

me to use such words I induct suggestions. The net result is a general suggestion: "Do not attempt to pass the car along the road; the tree might fall, and kill me."

I proceed to gather more data. I observe the fence and, under the suggestion of past experience in using fence openings, I look for bars. None on the side opposite the tree. An opening 100 feet back, shallow ditch, dry hard field, another set of bars 100 yards farther ahead on the same side and from the same field. These are my data. What do I do with them?

#### ROLE OF THE SELF IN THINKING

I REVER these data to myself. I bring them to the bar of judgment of my ideal self and evaluate each and all as tools of adjustment. By using the openings and the field I see my mirror self matching the qualities of my ideal self to get to class on time. Approval of my mirror self brings a command to the naive self from the ideal self to use car, opening, field, other opening, road, and arrive at class on time, thus maintaining my social status. The qualities of the external objects are interpreted in terms of past experiences that put meanings into the words by which I have captured them, that is, evaluated for their tool value in solving the crisis. The percepts have now been mediated by the self, and so become perceptions. A perception is a percept which has been referred to the self for determination of its utility as a self-maintenance technic.

#### INFERENCE

OUT OF these processes of reference and evaluation, suggestions are secured, depending upon knowledge or past experience, and inferences are made. I infer, then, that if I back my car, drive through the bars around the tree in the field, and out of the farther bars on to the road, I can get to class successfully. Thus the bars, tree, field, all take on meaning to me as obstructions or tools. I have become conscious of them because of the crisis situation. Into the bars, car, field, and road I project my personality by utilizing them as tools of personality adjustment. To me at the time, they

are as valuable as they are useful in the maintenance of my status.

#### THE MEANING OF MEANING

THIS inference as to how they can serve me is the meaning they have for me. Nothing has meaning that does not have immediate or potential tool value for a personality. If it means obstruction, the personality reveals a negative attitude and avoids or gets rid of it; if it has tool value, the person holds a positive attitude toward it and employs it.

#### DEFINITION OF THINKING

THE WHOLE process of analysis, observation, record, evaluation, reference to self, inference, experiment, or testing of the inference, is thinking. Briefly, thinking is a technic of getting out of trouble. It is adjustment to crisis situations; it is solving problems. No trouble, nor crisis, nor problems, then no thinking—only habits.

#### TESTING

HAVING thought my way through to an inferred plan of procedure and chosen a way out of the difficulty, I proceed to test my plan. If it works, then all is well and the experiment demonstrates the accuracy of my thinking. If not, I face a new crisis and repeat the procedure concerning a different set of details of a new crisis situation. Thus I may get through the first bars around in the field and out of the second bars only to get stuck in the ditch at that point. Then I have the problem of getting pulled out of the ditch.

Failure of one's thinking may be checked by testing but it is more profitable to develop checks on the thinking process.

Such checks are suggested by the following questions:

Are my observations complete?

Are they accurate? What errors are likely to creep in?

Have I used all available knowledge on the situation?

Is my judgment biased by haste for conclusions?

Are there other and better solutions?

Do my inferences conform to the requirements of the data and my knowledge of such data?

Have I worked through my formula for my solution before attempting actual testing of it?

#### CIVILIZATION AND THINKING

■ **EARLY** days when communities were small and relatively static, people moved within limited areas of social contact. They became fairly familiar with the culture tools and typical situations so that habits quite adequately met most of their adjustment needs. What habits to acquire were suggested by the customs, institutions, and laws — the conventions — firmly established before they appear upon the scene. Even the rare crises were so typical of human experience that they were symbolized in stereotypes around puberty, marriage, birth, death, seasonal shifts, and the like. To meet these were worked out conventions, ceremonies, and detailed prescriptions, and the habits essential to their conduct were instilled by ritualistic forms of education into youngsters. Life was generally stable and orderly and continuous. In the face of great disasters like floods, famine, epidemics, and the like, the people were helpless because of lack of knowledge upon which to make correct inferences as to the best solutions of these crises, so they did the best they could. They developed magic to solve their crises and created gods whom they scapegoated when they suffered and worshipped when they prospered. They dealt with the realities of life erroneously and fictitiously but gradually their practical experience enabled them to check on their magic and finally science and scientific knowledge were substituted.

But as civilization developed communities grew larger; villages grew into great world cities. Life became increasingly complicated; full of surprises and crises. Habits proved adequate in fewer situations; man was compelled by his very increase in numbers to do more thinking. Out of these increased crises many new ways were developed. These inventions furthered the increase of crises and the needs of thinking. New habits were developed around the new ways and tools, only to be displaced by further changes in culture

and society. The dynamic ages were difficult to live in and consequently the old norms and stereotyped solutions became continuously disintegrated.

More people, more inventions, more derangements of ways and norms, more mobility and more contacts characteristic of modern civilization, more wishes, more tools of satisfaction, all increase the crises in number, variety, and complexity.

True, many needed adjustments to these new conditions have been and are being worked out by the geniuses who do the thinking for others, so that others still are able to adjust themselves to many of these new situations by acquiring the habits necessary to manipulate the tools, machines, or formulas the geniuses create, but there is still much greater need of personal ability to think one's own way through life, because so many unsolved types of crises arise.

#### EDUCATION FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION

Our schools face no simple task, therefore, in attempting to equip youth to adjust to such conditions. Manifestly, since the inadequacy of magic has been historically demonstrated, the contents of education must deal with realities and with valid methods of thinking about realities. The only education, whether it be concerning the physical universe or the moral order, is scientific education.

Now science may be thought of, as indicated earlier, as technique of thinking or as result of thinking. The first is scientific method; the latter is scientific knowledge. Scientific education includes both.

For average or below-average-ability persons, education should aim in a major way at the production of habits coupled with an appreciation of thinking. The continuing division of labor, specialization and mechanization of activities reduce the bulk of activities of these types of persons to routine procedures as machine-handlers. For those above average, education should aim at the production of thinking with sufficient habits to make the thinking effective. They are the inventors of machines, ideas, and programs. The latter will be found in all classes of a population, so this

objective does not deny the democratic concept of education. These propositions most educators will agree upon. Disagreement arises around practical questions of *when? why? and how?*

Not thinking in general is meant here, for there is no such thing. But specific abilities to think about concrete types of problems in the adult world. Nor is it implied that all this can be done in public schools. Probably little more than a mere beginning can be made in achieving thinking abilities about many problems, though much may be learned about a few limited types. Further achievement will be possible by the organization of adult educations that will make opportunity for acquiring new thinking techniques for new problems as they arise. But such adult educations must be as available to all who want them as is now true of our public schools.

To summarise: scientific educations will impart (a) knowledges — facts and data substantiated and accepted by authorities for social as well as natural sciences — a mastery program at least as core of this curriculum while the remainder can be an appreciational program (there is little question that modern education fails to provide an adequate inculcation of data in an effort to be popular with children); (b) impart skills in handling things characteristic of a technological or machine age, particularly for the non-genius types of persons and in manipulating ideas that are dominant in science, engineering, and art, particularly for the high-ability types of persons, and (c) wishes built upon achievements of (a) and (b) and in terms of ethics and morals scientifically and not traditionally defined; and (d) an optimum organization of personality — whatever that turns out to be.

We need habits to use our machines; but we need thinking to control them for the optimum use of all of us. What habits and what thinkings, and when and by whom? — these are major questions of modern education in the United States.



## THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THINKING

From the foregoing description of the thinking process, it is quite apparent that thinking, like habits and wishes, is not an individual but a social product, and like them must be defined in bio-institutional terms. This emphasis is made simply to correct impressions that students so commonly have: that thinking is a function of the brain and therefore a concept of psychology alone.

First of all, it should be noted that not only the brain but the total organism enters into thinking, for all the other organs directly or indirectly condition the normal functioning of the brain. More particularly, however, speech organs, glands as controlling emotional overtones of thinking, hands, eyes, and the like all enter into thinking. They are all organic tools of the personality in thinking through a crisis solution.

But there are also other tools, lacking which the thinking cannot be effected. They are social products and must be taken into account in the definition of thinking. For example, the habits that break down are themselves results of social experiences. The crisis situation has not only personal but also social significance because of the personal status that is involved in successful or unsuccessful adjustment. The status is itself a social product and a phase of the person's social world. And out of his social world and his experiences in it he has acquired meanings and words that symbolize them, without which he would have no knowledge available for guidance in critical situations, nor could he use it. That is why men do not stampede so easily as do animals. The self to which the suggestions as to ways out of the difficulty are referred, the wishes involved in the choice of plans—are these not products of previous social experiences? Finally, all the culture tools, ideas, formulas, stereotypes, machines and the like—are they too not products of societal life?

## WHAT IS INTELLIGENCE?

How THEN can intelligence be considered merely a matter of an individual? Intelligence is a person's ability to adjust

to a situation, and depends upon the character of the situation. If it is a familiar recurrent situation, his habits are then his intelligence. If it is a critical one, some habits, memory of data, powers of observation, language for record and interpretation, and other tools are parts of his intelligence in adapting himself successfully. In the example of the road obstruction, not only my brain and my eyes but also my watch, my car, the road, the detour — all as resources or culture tools — are part of ability to adjust, i.e., a part of my intelligence.

Intelligence defined merely in terms of innate capacity loses sight of the rôle of culture in human behavior either as definitions of what to do or as tools of personality. Intelligence is relative, then, not only to biological heredity and physiological history, but also to personality development, societal sanctions and culture resources. In fact, frequently it is possible to account for high intelligence more easily and objectively by unified wish-organization, or by societal sanctions that are put on effort, or by opportunity for learning in an environment rich in culture resources, whereas no devices have as yet been found able to prove just how much of intelligence is innate, except in the highest or lowest I Q ranges. Be not concerned here with the "Heredity vs. Environment" argument; just realize that education is a control of culture and therefore a control of intelligence.

### READINGS

Krueger and Reckless, *Social Psychology*, Ch. 2 (The Social Significance of Language) and Ch. 4 (Social Objects and Social Definitions), Ch. 5 (Imagination and Its Social Function).

Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pp. 109-105 (Habit and Custom, the Individual and the General Will).

Dewey, J., *Human Nature and Conduct*, pp. 13-95 (The Place of Habit in Conduct) and pp. 172-181 (Habit and Intelligence).

—, *How We Think*.

Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Ch. 2 (Suggestion and Choice). Philosophical but suggestive.

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology*, pp. 416-418 (The Social Character of the Individual's Thinking)

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*, Chs. 20, 21. For study plan and additional readings

Review references on customs, institutions, laws, and culture.

#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain what is meant by the phrase, "pupil behavior is a function of a social situation"
2. What are the sociological phases of habit formation?
3. What are your objections to the contention that "pure" habit apart from culture does not exist?
4. Does the fact that pupils frequently act in ways other than those learned in schools argue for or against the author's explanation of habit in this chapter?
5. What causes the bankruptcy of habits, generally speaking?
6. If thinking is adjustment to crisis, in what sense is a teacher a trouble-maker for pupils?
7. What are some differences between realistic and fictitious definitions of crisis situations?
8. Is it true that we learn only by doing?
9. How do the various selves function in thinking?
10. Criticize the statement: The great educational need of today is to teach pupils to think.

#### EXERCISE

Write a thinking experience to check this chapter against an instance of reality.

## CHAPTER X

### *PATHOLOGY OF PERSONALITY*

**T**HERE ARE certain conditions under which personality development may be retarded or arrested. The personality that remains unorganized fails to secure sufficient integration with others and maladjustment is inevitable. On the other hand, personalities of varying degrees of organization of habits and wishes may become disorganized. Such disintegration also produces maladjustment. The societal significance of these kinds of unorganization or of disintegration of personalities varies with personalities and social situations, but they constitute problems for all those interested in societal control. Examples of such are found everywhere and are reflected in instances of poverty, delinquency, crime, divorce, insanity, and the like. Such problems occur in every school, large or small, no matter whether the pupils come from the slums or the "Gold Coast," or whatever their *I.Q.* The "problem child" like the poor is always with us, in home, street, school, or community.

The truth is we are all more or less maladjusted in one way or another at one time or another. Some maladjustment of each person is then a normal phenomenon. This is important to know because sometimes persons become pathologically maladjusted through worrying over their supposed "difference" from all others in having maladjustment. But there is no more reason for "worry" over this than over the fact that we all carry disease germs of some sort all the time. Some of these maladjustments are crises that are to be solved, whose difficulty puts zest and adventure into one's experi-

ences. But a general mastery of oneself is necessary to prevent pathologies of personalities. And as in the case of physical health, knowledge of the requirements of physical processes for the sake of their health conduces to more effective control, so also in the case of personality health.

What, then, are some of the conditioning factors that tend to correlate positively with the more extreme types of maladjustment? — crises that are too severe, too complex, or too persistent, mental conflicts, feelings of inferiority, and the like, and the adoption of values condemned by the effective majority of a community, state, or nation. They might all be classified under "crises" but to precise these conditions is more helpful at this point than to generalize.

#### CRISIS AND INCORPORATION OF PERSONALITY

Some crises are shocks. Shock may tend to disorganize what a child has already achieved in his personality development, or it may retard and prevent further organization. Shock is "hot-spot experience" of an extreme sort, when unusual emotional disturbance occurs. Its greatest danger is that under such conditions the child is highly suggestible and frequently falls a prey to temptations which he otherwise successfully overcomes.

One common cause of shock is punishment by others which is unadapted to the nature of the offense. Children behave under punishment very differently, so that even for the same offense the same punishments should not always be administered to all children alike. The same is true of adults, and much accentuation of criminal tendencies occurs because of the failure to recognize this simple fact in the current methods of criminal treatment. Thus one child will accept a punishment and consider that thereby he has squared his account with the world. It relieves him from the tension of a guilt feeling or from worry of his conscience. Failure to punish such a child in the way he expects operates to load him down with a sense of guilt. He feels "bad," with no means of freeing himself from his own condemnation. This develops strain which accentuates his conditions of maladjustment; until he may in self-defense become "hard

boiled," and since "no one cares," lose sensitivity to common values in his social world. Punishment in such a case would be the best prophylaxis for undesirable tendencies; it provides catharsis in tears and a squaring of accounts.

But for another type of child such treatment would be the worst sort of thing. Just a frown or a sharp tone is enough to send some children into depths of despair. To have all children so sensitive would be highly desirable, for then praise would be the best device for control, but teachers must deal with children as they are and the subtler methods have little effect on those toughened already by life's hardships.

Above all the child must be convinced that the punishment is fair, otherwise dangerous shocks may occur. Frequently they come from extreme punishments of adults who have lost their patience and their temper. No child should be punished until all feeling of annoyance or temper has disappeared. If punishment occurs at all it should fall with the impartiality and inevitability and regularity of the burning of a finger by a hot stove. Sometimes adults take no notice of offenses, hoping that will deter; but if the child's behavior is an attention-getting technique, as sometimes happens, this merely strengthens the child's tendencies. Then the parent strikes back and often with much the same infantile characteristics as the child reveals. To pass over some offenses and make much of others creates a chaotic condition to which the child does not know how to adjust himself.

#### FEARS AND SHOCK

ANOTHER source of shock is fears. To secure easy control of children adults impose fears upon them. "The goblins'll get ye, if ye don' watch out!" Fairy tales of terrible ogres threatening to kill or maim sweet princesses—to give knights in shining armor a chance to display their courage and skill—create fears that shock children, as revealed in the nightmares and disturbing dreams of children; death, accident, or other catastrophe which a child does not quite understand but interprets from the behavior of others that it must be "aweful." During a review of *All Quiet on*

*the Western Front* in New York City, which was attended by a thousand or more school children of the lower elementary grades, many screamed, shrieked, and wept hysterically during the more horrifying parts of the picture. Children seek for thrill and go to movies for that reason principally, and yet I have myself seen many refuse to look at "Dracula," the vampire picture, though they had paid their money to do so. It is hard for them to divorce fiction from reality.

There is no intention of condemning the imposing of fears that are real and that function for the protection of the child. Such are fears of poisonous snakes, mad dogs, live wires, or third rails, of motor traffic, of riding freight cars, and the like. But the inculcation of baseless fears purely fictional, which the child unlearns later, is a crime against childhood, whatever the rationalizations of primary teacher or doting mother.

The history of man's rise to Parnassus is the account of a long valiant struggle from the bondage of fears by achieving knowledge of nature and man in the interests of understanding and control. What excuse is there, then, in loading down children with primitive fears that inhibit or prevent a normal healthy development?

It is not intended here to give the impression that children should be kept in ho-houses without contact with any of the cold blasts of actual life. But the crises of death or misfortune that fall in their midst can be tempered by the behavior of adults. ■ the latter show fear and hysteria, wrong pictures of behavior are built up in the child; but poise and judgment and a philosophic attitude of parents and teachers condition children to accept stern realities with respect and a sense of mastery instead of defeat. Inculcation of functional fears is a technic of adult behavior in certain types of situations; such should be the possession of children, but properly adapted to their needs and their growth.

#### LOSS OF NORMS

CRISIS also come from a sudden loss of norms or behavior patterns. Sudden changes of environment through moving from one place to another leave children helpless in the face

of varying group expectations. Immigrant children from foreign lands reveal high rates of delinquency partly for this reason. Negroes migrating from the South into the North, rural children migrating into cities find their old behavior patterns do not fit the new situations. Unfamiliar with the new demands they make many mistakes and are punished therefor all too stupidly by societies.

Loss of norms may also arise because of loss of social status. The father is guilty of breaking the law and sent to jail without consideration of the effect of such treatment on his family; a mother is murdered for offering evidence on vicious practices of criminals or police and her daughter commits suicide from "shame." Or just to belong to a low economic class who live in the slums "across the tracks," and to be called derogatory names by fellow pupils. Negro children who for years play with white children, finally to be refused recognition because a white mother forbids her daughter any longer to have anything to do with her old Negro playmates, saying, "You are too old now for such things. What will people think?" Such types of experiences give children the feeling that they no longer "belong" to the respectable folk. They cannot yet understand the reasons for these attitudes, which makes it all the more difficult to adjust to new norms.

Children of poor people, migrants, hoboes, criminals, and the like, are seriously handicapped in their personality-growth by reason of this recognition of being without social status.

Besides, in this low of norms their difficulties are enhanced by lack of advisors and guides. Parents of poor children are busy at work in stores and factories and are not at hand to help as they could. In schools teachers are too busy with their special problems to understand what such children need, and so they are neglected. Eleanor Hope Johnson in her *School Problems in Baltimore* (Harford 1925) has shown that it is not broken homes, as previously maintained, but this lack of constant sympathetic guidance which is highly correlated in a positive way with school problems. Especially is this need of guidance by sympathetic adults important in an age of many technological changes and high



mobility of population, and rapid means of communication, which derange the old standard norms of behavior. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many adults are suffering serious maladjustments for these same reasons. Their own norms are chaotic and uncertain.

Now in this situation teachers find an unusual opportunity to contribute to normal child growth. By dealing with their pupils as persons and not mere "pupils" they are in a position to compensate the child for his inability to satisfy his wishes in home and community. To possess status in school social worlds is the saving factor for many a child who lacks status outside of the school. In school he belongs, gains confidence in himself, satisfies his wishes for personal response and security, provided the teacher wisely furnishes opportunities for him. If the school fails him too, and neither offers him selected new adequate norms nor organizes his emotions around such, he is sure to develop pathological personality characteristics.

#### "NOTHING LEFT"

SOMETIMES the loss of norms results from the shattering of faiths. This results in a disorganization of emotions. Still we respect this new knowledge on evolution or fear it or hate it. Around certain concepts or ideas or ideals we have organized attitudes and supporting emotions. When we are told they are fictitious, baseless, or unscientific, we suffer a shock and feel we have been duped. This is the danger of apparently innocent myths and folk tales given to children. Some children feel that the bottom has dropped out of things when they are first told that the Santa Claus story is not "true." Similar experiences accompany the achievement of scientific knowledge in adolescent high school periods or even later in college or university concerning sex or religion. Students accept too readily conclusions of this or that school of faith or thought and suffer when it is attacked or proved false. Some people simply refuse to listen if their pet ideas are questioned. A college student burst into a room and threw himself upon a bed weeping bitterly. When questioned he replied that he had "nothing left" after his courses

in Biology and Biblical Literature. Having accepted at face value his knowledge from his conservative parents he almost failed to readjust himself.

#### MENTAL CONFLICT AND MISCONDUCT

BECAUSE of modern conditions of life people reveal on every hand the evidences of conflict. Mental conflict is the inability to make choices, to come to decisions, to reach conclusions. Mental conflict is the conflict of wishes which every person has. There is nothing necessarily pathological about this until a condition is reached that is extreme or chronic. Then the constant indecision undermines the person's conception of himself; he sees his mirror self unable to harmonize with his ideal self and disintegration or inhibition of wish organization sets in. He is then at the mercy of "impulses," or whims — he satisfies wishes whether they hinder or help the satisfactions of other or major wishes. Integration is retarded because a dominant wish or life-purpose does not develop or is lost. This in all conditions the personality is as to accentuate further just such tendencies of indecision and mental conflict.

What are some of the major societal conditions that cause such mental conflict or inability to make choices at all, let alone wise ones? They can be succinctly formulated in four propositions:

1. Every group or social world or community develops norms of behavior peculiarly characteristic of it.
2. Every group or social world imposes these upon its members.
3. Persons belong to various groups or social worlds.
4. Divergent norms that have been accommodated by isolation are thus brought together in the same person who reflects these divergent norms of behavior.

Shall a child make a choice in terms of the norms of his home, his school, his church, or his gang? Personal conflicts reflect conflicts of groups, of ideas, of social conflicts. Accordingly, as the norms of these groups vary in kind and number will his mental conflict increase, at least until he has achieved sufficient personality organization to be eclectic —

that is, to compare, select, and reject according to his personal norms? But as indicated already, such selection and rejection are retarded by the very conditions that make them necessary.

Mental conflicts when persistent or chronic may then become obsessions or psychoses (insanity), serious diseases of personality. Because of inability to decide which wish to satisfy, action is inhibited and expression unsecured. This causes physical and psychic tensions which take the form of persistent worry. Tensions may secure catharsis in various ways, some proper and some pathological and some dangerous to society. The wishes may be sublimated as in play or art; or they may cause the child to withdraw, i.e., daydream or develop a delusory attitude as exemplified in suicidal tendencies; they may break out in unexpected forms of behavior such as temper tantrums or actual criminalistic attacks on persons, child stealing, burglary, or murder.

It is of vital importance that educators study the tension situations of children if efforts are to be set up for the prevention of child pathologies. Only thoroughgoing diagnosis of children and their backgrounds, as suggested in the "Personality Record," can provide the data for such preventive work.

One of the unfortunate features of mental conflict is the increased suggestibility from which the person suffers. As in shock, under these conditions of personality, evil associates are peculiarly potent. W. Healy in his *Mental Conflict and Misconduct* (pp. 78 ff) cites the case of Melba B. who, shocked by sex information given her by a new playmate, is unable to decide what to do about it all. Under this condition the playmate suggests one day while in a store that Melba take things from the counter. This went on for some time until she was caught. She told the judge of the Juvenile Court that she did not want to steal but had not been able to refrain ever since her playmate had told her so. In other words, her shock and mental conflict left her open to the hypnotic suggestions of her playmate. Among youths, murder is frequently committed in similar circumstances. They

take guns to frighten storekeepers for their money; something happens that creates excessive fear when unintentionally the suggestion of the gun is too great, and they shoot, kill, and expose their crime and ours in the electric chair for such is the treatment of the temporarily insane by twentieth century civilization.

Mental conflict may occur not only from the conflict of specific wishes but also from complexes of wishes or attitudes which we have called multiple personalities. The struggle between the different personalities may be so great and continuous that the person is left bankrupt in practical life situations that call for action.

What can teachers do to prevent mental conflict?

First, they can study their pupils for symptoms of mental conflict.

Second, they can try to understand through a study of the child's social worlds the conditioning factors of mental conflict.

Third, they can turn this understanding into sympathetic guidance, suggesting possible choices that the child can make, and by helping him to make them, build up confidence in himself.

Fourth, adapt school crises to personality capacities so as not to accentuate mental conflict by further scholastic inadequacies.

Fifth, teach the child how to select and reject wishes.

Sixth, provide compensatory opportunities.

Seventh, offer materials in courses suggestive of behaviors that are practical for children in out-of-school situations.

Eighth, report to technicians—visiting teachers or child guidance clinics—pupils who reveal mental conflict or misconduct.

#### INFERIORITY AND COMPENSATION

PROBABLY one of the most subtle phases of personality which in turn conditions its development and expression is what is commonly known as the feeling of inferiority. All persons from time to time have such feelings. It is an aspect of habit-bankruptcy which creates a crisis and involves think-

ing as a technique of readjustment. Inferiority is a normal characteristic of people.

But these feelings of inferiority must not be permanent, excessive, or extreme, else they become pathological in the behavior manifestations which result in social maladjustment.

The sources from which the feelings of inferiority arise are numerous and varied. For example, Alfred Adler in his monograph on "Organ Inferiority as a Basis of the Feeling of Inferiority" has shown that physical or organic defects or disabilities play a definite rôle in creating a feeling of inferiority. Sometimes these defects are known to the person; sometimes they are quite unknown or unsuspected but still they produce feelings of inferiority. Thus persons who are physically deformed, hunchback, blind, deaf, mute, albino, have harelip, and the like, or who stutter, are of very short stature or are very tall — who have suffered injuries, from disease or accident, who exhibit mental incapacities, temper, muscular weakness, sterility, or other forms of physical incompetency have feelings of inferiority due to recognition of their differences from most persons.

The tragic aspect of such recognitions is that others often accentuate the feelings of inferiority by showing their attitudes of pity, hate, disgust, and the like when they meet people with apparent defects. Thus persons commonly show horror when meeting lepers or the bodily mutilations of beggars and fanatics in India or China. The knowledge that people fear them is a source of severe suffering in the case of persons afflicted with diseases for which they must be put in isolation hospitals. People who stutter, or are nervous, are commonly quite sensitive to the pity shown toward them and resent commiseration. This was the attitude of returned soldiers who had lost parts of their bodies during the World War. Proud as they might be, they winced under the horror or pity that people inevitably showed toward them. The scorn of men toward women has historically associated inferiority with female sex, so that women have traditionally suffered from feelings of inferiority over and above those normally characteristic of all persons.

Then, too, these inferiorities and their concomitant emo-

tional expressions are stereotyped in language and art forms. To be a "barrel," a "telegraph-pole," a "pink-eye," a "low-brow," a "club-foot," a "kike," a "coon," or a "nut," is to suffer unusually from feelings of inferiority. The worst of it is that the person smarting from the injustices of being lampooned and cartooned by his fellows when his inferiority was no fault of his. Nature dealt with him unfairly. Yet frequently adults and commonly children are so cruel as to exploit these inferiorities for the sake of bolstering their wishes for dominance.

Besides physiological deficiencies that create feelings of inferiority are natural phenomena, such as catastrophes, earthquakes, fires, floods, epidemics, wars, and the like, which make it impossible for men to cope with their environment.

In addition to catastrophic changes of natural environment that leave men hopelessly inadequate, are social and economic changes, which may creep up on them more subtly. Such are unemployment, old age, sickness, industrial incapacity, regional poverty, or miscarriage of justice, political domination, religious fears, or still more subtly, the inferiority that comes from morbid maladjustment. Things are wrong, though one tries ever so hard. Children go astray, though parents exert themselves in their behalf ever so devotedly. The changing personal norms and ideals amid the variant societal pressures and the culture lag all in a multitude of ways contribute to feelings of inferiority. It is fortunate for many an elderly teacher today that when he went through the schools there were no intelligence tests that gave him a feeling of inferiority or an excessive feeling of superiority.

But all these organic, or natural environment or societal causes of inferiority may be thought of as inability to satisfy wishes. Tools are lacking for wish satisfaction; or the obstruction is too great—another way of saying the same thing.

#### COMPENSATION FOR INFERIORITY

Should people be free from inferiority? If so, they would neither eat, drink, nor think. Inferiority is a cause of ten-

ness, which is always the initiation of activity. Some inferiorities are essential to secure certain objectives whether in school or in the Great Society.

Thus in order to make up or compensate for inferiority, people may express themselves in two ways: by realistic effort or by psychic compensation which is fictitious satisfaction.

Realistic effort based upon a healthy concern for facts is the stuff of ambition. It is the characteristic behavior of the personality type which psychoanalysts call the "extrovert." Without feelings of inferiority people are smug, complacent, contented, inactive. With them, if supported by proper gland functioning, people develop ambitions, definite, strong, and unified. Autobiographies of all great men reveal their ambitious struggle to overcome their inferiorities of body, of mind, or of culture. One boy is jeered at by his playmates. He is poor, dirty, and compelled to do menial work on the streets. As his feelings of inferiority sharpen, his ambition crystallizes. When others drop out of school, he continues. It is a difficult struggle, but he studies early and late, firm in the approval of his mother and sister. Finally ■ is graduated and enters college; meanwhile his early playmates have become bums and unskilled workers. What would have happened had his playmates accepted him or made him a leader?

A youth enters college with the hope of securing honors. He works his way through and has no time for dances, card parties, and the like. He feels isolated and inferior. To compensate he goes in for athletics, makes the track team and the football team and a place on an All-American team. These successes encourage him to other efforts; he goes in for debating and oratory and wins prizes. He fails in one course which he understands precludes his possibility of being elected to Phi Beta Kappa. So he lays out his modified plan, and gets two degrees in four years, as well as election to the senior ruling board and Phi Beta Kappa. One wonders what would have happened if he had been a "social lion" or a "jazz bound."

Examples of ambitious efforts to overcome collective feelings of inferiorities are readily found: health activities in

overcome inferiorities of sickness and death—hospitals, clinics, asylums—artificial reconstructions of parts of the body or special educations or forms of re-education; physical culture, through athletics, gymnasiums and the like. One of the most impressive pieces of apparatus seen in a gymnasium in a high school in Japan was designed to help the young students to grow tall. Other examples are conflicts and struggles for power among nations where ambition takes the form of craft and strategy. But today the technique of war are science and money; the personal elements play a subordinate rôle. That is one reason why wars probably will be fought in the future only by conscription of fighters. And since wars make many new problems, it is a question whether it is becoming a form of psychic rather than realistic compensation. Science, invention, and technological development with the concomitant distribution and socialization of the fruits of invention among all capable of acquiring them through education are further examples of ambitious effort to compensate for feelings of personal or collective inferiority.

#### PSYCHIC COMPENSATION

To meet crises and refuse to face facts; to substitute dreams for realities, to idealize the real instead of to realize the ideal, to rationalize or scapegoat by excusing oneself, blaming others, or placing the explanation of the cause of inferiority beyond personal control, to resign completely and run away as in truancy, desertion, or suicide: these are expressions of fictitious satisfactions of wishes for dominance or merely "psychic compensations" for feelings of inferiority.

At this juncture, the reader may well be reminded of a point stressed earlier; that the holding of an attitude or the pursuit of a goal by a majority of people does not argue for its truth or validity. Prevalent attitudes or goals have been based upon error but yet unchallenged by all. Such was the notion that the sun moved around the earth and that the world was flat. Now similarly, under the trend of wishful thinking people commonly set up imaginary dominances for real ones: "All God's children got wings"; "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach!" are two expressions of it.



Breathes there a teacher of long endurance who has not felt the sting of these latter words? But artists, poets and literateurs, dramatists, and many inventors are types who organize their life patterns around unrealistic goals. There is here no contention that the achievements of such persons are worthless. No, they enrich culture and life; but man could live without them, were it necessary to do so, for mere survival. Frustrations are commonly sublimated by substituting fictitious goals for the ones unobtainable. This raises the question whether art can be produced by fat and prosperous artists; or scientific achievements by scholars and professors paid salaries of advertisers and football coaches. *Arts gratia artis*. It is the perfect escape from an unendurable existence without losing either life or social status. The essence of art is to get away from reality: of science to get into it.

Another technique of adjustment is the substitution of a future dominance for a present one. This "vale of tears and suffering" becomes quite possible when through patience one wins the "fields of Paradise." Radical socialists have long contended that religion has operated to keep the exploited peasants and workers contented by offering them Heaven as a reward for the life to come. It is interesting to notice the qualities assigned to the heavens of the various religions. They offer to the believer an eternity of satisfactions of those wishes unfulfilled on earth. The Mohammedan has his "houri"; the Christian, his "golden streets and pearly gates." These are significant symbols of prevalent frustrations. Gold and pearls are the stuff of dreams dreamed in vain. This effort of every generation to make Heaven nothing more than psychic compensation was repudiated by the founder of Christianity when he said, "The Kingdom of God is within you." A religion based upon an acceptance of that statement would create a program of realistic effort to make the present life as adequate (heavenly) as possible instead of substituting an immortality of adequacy, a faith of which science has made some people sceptical.

The general effect of historical religion by teaching such substitutions has been to develop a *lassen-faire* policy. One missionary gang to China accused another of denying his

Leader because the second man proposed to be more concerned about opening hospitals and cleaning streets than in "preaching the Word." "All these things will be added unto you," is a promise offered so many to make them content with their lot by looking to future life for their rewards. Meanwhile, corruptionists, criminals, patrioters, racketeers, and profaneers grow prosperous and the children suffer from inadequacy and neglect. Not so let things alone but to make them what they ought to be is the aim of natural science and social engineering.

Another form of this substitution of future goals for present ones through which people get psychic compensation is procrastination. One of its forms is the philosophy of *laissez-faire* and immortality just mentioned. Another is the common putting off until tomorrow what we can do today. In some culture areas this attitude is a distinguishing trait. Arguably, there is much to be said in favor of it, for there is no evidence that all the rush and mad speed of train and factory gets us anywhere except into so much busy-ness that business becomes bankrupt through overproduction and underconsumption — the former a result of busy-ness, the latter a result of thrift. Overactivity personally and collectively can be as damaging as inactivity.

This procrastination sometimes takes the form of waiting "Wait" for the day when the Messiah shall come, the day when peace shall come; the day when the last shall be first, the first, last, the day when the great revolution shall come and the proletariat shall rule — "Der Tag" of the Marxian socialists; the day when all shall be judged as they come forth to the blast of Gabriel's trumpets. The evil effect of such procrastination is boring complacency instead of divine discontent. These beliefs are symbols of great myths or folk wishes that substitute fictitious for real goals and operate to control people's behavior by psychic compensation for feelings of inferiority due to poverty, ignorance, persecution, oppression, injustice, and the like. There is a difference between the dream of the architect and the engineer and that of the mystic who solves the problems of life by flight to some "heaven."

Another interesting form of this phenomenon of psychic compensation is what Alfred Adler in *The Neurotic Constitution* calls the "masculine protest." Women have always suffered from the handicaps of their sex which periodically debilitates and interferes with normal adequacy, as in childbirth. Men are not so hampered in normal sex functioning, and being free have regarded themselves therefore as superior. At any rate men have throughout history succeeded in organizing societal life predominantly under their sway, so that throughout history women have suffered from feelings of inferiority.

Against these conditions women have from time to time rebelled or by strategy reversed conditions, as in the age of chivalry noble women were respected — but peasant women were violated — by noblemen. In modern times we have seen a widespread movement of revolt against an inferior status, but this is ambitious compensation. There are those women who by psychic compensation offset their feelings of inferiority, the clinging-vine technique of wish satisfaction, the "tears" technique, the "vamp" technique are indirect modes of adjustment to this crisis. In so far as feminism, women's suffrage, and economic independence of women are based on fictions, so that extent they represent psychic compensations. To the extent that women strive to live men's lives instead of being themselves, they are getting psychic compensation.

#### NEUROSES

INFERIORITY that are not overcome either realistically or fictionally persist and prevent organization or effect disorganization of the personality, for they create permanent crises with which the personality cannot cope. As a result excessive irritability or nervousness and emotional instability occur. These inferiorities may become obsessions that create psychic tensions from which the person cannot get free. They create tendencies toward introversion and develop autosuggestions of persecution (paranoia), hallucination, and the like — forms of insanity or psychosis. This is

one type of adjustment of personality to excessive inferiorities.

#### **FLIGHT**

ANOTHER method of getting catharsis or release from the tensions of the crises due to inferiorities is to withdraw or flee. Such cases as immigrant, emigrant, pioneer, hobo, tramp or traveler, the absconder, deserter, runaway boy or girl, recluse, and ascetic are examples of such solutions. It is often the easiest way out but it is destructive, disintegrating. Other forms are: classical literary programs of schools, music, poetry, painting, philosophy, fiction, drama, religion, politics, and the like.

#### **REPRISAL**

A THIRD type of adjustment is reprisal, retaliation, or re-crimination. The personality strikes back vigorously but without due respect for the realistic values that dominate the social situation. Such are murderers, assassins, thieves, jingoes, malinsias, chauvinists, revolutionists, and the like. In school they are the pests who aggressively get retribution from their tensions by making trouble for the teacher who is the symbol of the causes of their inferiorities.

It is readily seen then that some of these techniques are sanctionable while others are dangerous to persons themselves and still others are dangerous as well to society. Schools should not only help to secure personality organization but should set up whatever machinery for guidance and understanding is needed by the facts of child life and personality development.

#### **THE SCHOOL CLINIC**

EVERY school system should have a school clinic devoted to a twofold program of service and research. Then it would be possible to offer guidance founded not on hunches but facts, not only of the child but also his social world. Aid would be given not only to the more extreme instances of maladjustment but also to those who are not yet really

pathological. Correction, readjustment, rehabilitation, re-education of the latter can be effected; diagnosis, prediction, guidance, and improved teachings and contents can be mobilized for the former. Through research much-needed knowledge can be secured on all phases of child personality.

The staff of such a clinic should include the following, with none left out:

1. Sociologist
2. Social worker or visiting teacher
3. Psychologist
4. Tester
5. Physician, preferably a psychiatrist
6. Nurse
7. Specialists — dentists, oculists, pediatricians, etc.
8. Statisticians
9. Stenographers, file clerks, and the like

If objection is offered that this service and research clinic would be too expensive, there is only one answer. That is, to convince the tax-payers that it is too expensive to the community not to have such a service for prevention and guidance.

The unit of organization of such a clinic may vary according to numbers of people to be served — school population; area and means of transportation; wealth and tax-paying powers; culture areas or social soils. The result might be a section of a city corresponding closely to a present unit of school administration; it might be an entire community, it might be a part of a county or a whole county or several counties combined; a part of a state, a whole state, or several states combined. Whatever area, wealth, or people are necessary to provide a clinic, use that unit and provide one. Nothing less is fair to the children of today who are innocent victims of modern civilization. Where clinics can be provided in limited units of administration, as in a school or a city, they can be fixed and stable. Elsewhere they can be organized as traveling clinics. But whether fixed or traveling, the important thing is to have clinics as available as least as hospitals and, in some regions of these United States, much more so.

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What differences exist between an unorganized personality and a disorganized one?

2. How would you define maladjustment?
3. What is the rôle of firms in social control of pupil behavior?
4. How does social mobility create child maladjustment?
5. In what specific ways can teachers in schools compensate for social shortages to prevent child maladjustment in a community?
6. What are the symptoms of mental conflict in children?
7. What would you say to your superintendent if he asked you, "Why should we have a school clinic?"

#### **EXERCISE**

A case illustration, not taken from a book, of any topic in this chapter.

## PART II COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL LIFE

### INTRODUCTION

**H**UMAN BEHAVIOR may be studied from either the personal or the collective angle. The personal aspect and the collective or group aspect are two phases of the same realities. Each conditions the other, therefore neither phase can be properly understood without the other, for both make up reality in the phenomena of human behavior.

For this reason Part I has been devoted to the analysis of the personal phases of behavior. It has presented the conception of personality as a function of three variables: biological heredity or original nature (ON), social heredity or culture (C), and time or the series of experience moments (SEM), which represents the natural history of a person. Effort was made to give due consideration to the various elements and typical conditioning factors, but special emphasis was placed upon the roles of culture and society in behavior causations and personality development. The central thesis was that human behavior is a function of a social situation and represents adjustment of a personality in a total situation, so that the total personality including its natural history and the total situation must be analyzed for any understanding that aims at accuracy and completeness. Although statistics can throw light on trends, it cannot present a picture of reality for any instance of behavior. That can be achieved only through differential socianalysis such as the case-history method.

Pupils are persons, not mere "individuals" as in biology and psychology, products of the interplay of organism and



culture through time. Nor are they mere pupils whose business it is to learn subjects. They are persons and can only be truly taught as such.

Part II now pushes the analysis into the collective phases of societal phenomena. A pupil in school, in fact any learner anywhere in human society, is functioning in a social situation, for the pupil is always in a school group, a child in a family or nurture group; an apprentice in a work group, and so on. If, as we have maintained, the group attitudes and practices condition behavior adjustments, then it should be of value to study the nature and types and processes of collective behavior. It is important to know something of the social milieu of the classroom and school and playground to understand the pupils as persons functioning in them. It is of value to study the social movements and trends in the profession of education, if we would see more clearly why teachers and administrators behave as they do. And it will be helpful to situate these educational groups and behavior trends or movements against the background of great societal facts.

Part II, therefore, presents social interaction — contact and isolation — its medium, communication; its mechanisms, suggestion and imitation; its types in antagonisms, competitions, rivalries and conflicts and in co-operations, accommodations and assimilations; its functionings for changes and continuities. This constitutes, then, a study of social and societal processes.

But from these processes come results or products which may be other processes or structural products. There are thus static and dynamic phases to collective behavior. In expressing collective behavior as adjustment to collective crisis, people develop among themselves definite relationships, accept status more or less integrated and fixed. The latter are the structural aspects of society; its values, opinions, groups, agencies, organizations, and the like.

Now these are all of concern to the student of education because, learning being a social process, the educator is constantly dealing with people in groups. The teacher deals with pupils in groups or against group backgrounds; the

principal has faculties and school boards and classes to deal with; the superintendent has classes, faculties, principals, institutes, school boards, communities, and all sorts of vital-interest groups, as well as professional education groups, to handle or to lead. Thus both the social interaction of collective behavior and the values, opinions, organizations of people in schools and communities are proper and insistent subjects of study for those who aim to lead or influence such groups or opinions. How can we control the kinds of social interactions and social situations in order to develop the personalities we want if we are ignorant of either the processes or the products that determine personality or its expression in adjustment behavior?

Teachers need to know theoretically and practically all that is possible about pupil personalities and school groups and organizations. These are the materials with which they work; they dare not be so ignorant as to use tools of wood-working upon materials of iron or steel. Educational tools must be created in a way properly adapted to the nature and requirements of human materials in both their personal and collective, static and dynamic aspects. And yet how many educators, from superintendents to the newest teachers, have studied sociology in order to understand these collective phases of education? Relatively few. They have considered psychology and philosophy quite sufficient and executed their profession by common sense! No wonder people cry, "What's wrong with American education?"

## CHAPTER XI

### *SOCIAL INTERACTION IN SCHOOLS AND OUT*

**S**Ocial interaction depends upon contact. Isolation makes social interaction impossible. By a study of contact and isolation the conditions of social interaction are more readily understood than would be possible by a neglect of these basic aspects.

#### CONTACT

CONTACT has certain physical bases. They are geographical, technological, and biological factors.

Geographical conditions that operate to favor contact of people readily come to mind. Thus topographical conditions of valleys, streams, shore lines, harbors, plains and the like generally are conducive to ready movements of people irrespective of technology. Warm and temperate climates have obstructed man's living and movement generally less than torrid or frigid climates. The ecological distribution of the flora and fauna of the world have also conditioned human contact. The great culture areas have been those that offered favorable combination of topography, climate, and animal and plant life.

But today the technological factors operate more commonly and directly than the geographic, simply because the inventions free us from the controls of spatial distance, barriers of mountains and rivers and the like, and climate.

Railways, airplane routes, telephone, telegraph, radio, television, steamships all increase mobility and contact. Building methods create multiple offices and dwellings, congest people and enhance contact. Large buildings, many

persons, buses for transportation, libraries, gymnasiums and athletic fields, school organizations and the like are the differences between the contacts of the one-room rural school and the consolidated school as a merger of a dozen or more of these "little red schoolhouses." The increase of wealth, the propaganda for high school education, expanded resources of college and university have put many more students in higher education. This increases contact of more people in college and out on various experience levels. Compulsory education laws have increased the numbers of pupils to be cared for in school, thereby increasing contacts. The profession develops institutes, conferences, congresses, and the like and increases contact by invented devices.

The biological factors are the normal physiological functions of the senses. Consider how sight makes for contact. By it we recognize people and kinds of people; we take shoes off our noses and put shoes on our boots. Fads and fashions operate to bring those who conform together. But they depend upon sight. Why are we so careful to make up before going out on the street? Because people see us. Were we all blind we should not need these precise techniques of social adjustment. Records in print — books, libraries, depend upon sight. Or consider the sense of smell: how much money is spent each year on perfumed. In medieval times when baths were rare and for the wealthy, perfumery was a necessary substitute for bodily cleanliness for those who could afford frankincense, myrrh, and the sweet savors of Arabia. But why today when we commonly bathe too much? One answer is: they enhance contact between people. Just how we shall indicate later. So with the other defining senses — temperature, pressure, hearing, taste, and probably many others. How important is hearing in language as communication!

#### TYPES OF CONTACT

CONTACT may be classified in a variety of ways. There are primary and secondary contacts. Primary contacts are those that are immediate, face-to-face, or intimate and direct. The senses function normally without significant aid of any in-

ventions. Primary contacts are found in interviews, conferences, classes, staff meetings, institutes and the like. Wherever people actually gather in one place, there is primary contact. Primary contact is important because under it one finds a maximum number of senses operating to establish contact. When the sewing-circle gathers, sight, smell, hearing, temperature and pressure, and taste all operate in handshakes, verbal greetings, accents, and refreshments. Some may have come chiefly because they liked the hostess's cake.

Secondary contact is long-range, mediated, indirect contact. Persons are not face-to-face and a minimum of senses operate. Such contacts are by telephone, radio, press, letter, book, and the like.

Primary contacts characterize a locality or neighborhood; secondary contacts predominate in a community. One great difference between primitive and modern civilization is the tremendous expansion of ranges of contact through these inventions for distant connections with people. As a modern example of indirect contact, consider the way people followed Lindbergh across the Atlantic or Byrd to the South Pole. Even neighborhoods today are more and more characterized by secondary contacts.

Both primary and secondary contacts produce other forms which may be classified as (a) continuity contacts and (b) mobility contacts. Continuity contacts are those that through the primary contact of family and neighborhood bring a person into touch with the past. They are those culture contacts that link up the present with family history. They are vertical contacts, so to speak, running back into antiquity. Secondary, in school through history books, literature, science, and the like, these contacts exploit social heredity.

But the mobility contacts are those that occur because people move about horizontally on the face of the earth. They belong to the present generations of living persons. Some are primary as in the case of family and neighborhood; others are secondary as in the case of the community, wherein two typical phenomena are to be found: the audience (talkies, radio) and the audience (movies, television, books, and bleachers). These latter make for a societal interde-

pendence, which today is becoming world-wide. This is reflected in the movements to organize people in some sort of world unit as the League of Nations and the World Court. All contacts made through the activities of long-range communication are the secondary ones that operate in these ways. ■ the audience ■ radio we have a phenomenon never found before in human history. What such secondary contacts mean no one yet knows prophetically. Correspondence courses are secondary contacts that lead in their successful conclusion to primary contacts in securing a job. And so it goes. The student by thinking through the implications of the foregoing can readily mobilize numerous illustrations.

The function of contact is social interaction.

#### ISOLATION

THE OBVERSE of social contact is, of course, social isolation. The same factors that operate for contact may operate against it or for isolation. Thus geographical factors of barriers or obstructions to contact are found in oceans, deserts, mountains, great spatial distance, in climate as blizzards, winter, typhoons, floods, droughts, and in flora and fauna as dense jungles, or cattle or grassy plains, the basis of nomadism and its relative isolation. These natural barriers operate to create certain types of rural, urban, and international isolation.

To come close home: when it is necessary to walk through blizzards or wade through mud to school, attendance tends to decrease. When it is exceedingly cold, country schools sometimes close. The droughts, floods, harvest seasons lower school attendance and decrease school work. People show less mobility in winter than in summer.

But even more significant, for technological inventions tend to overcome the most bothersome geographic obstructions, are isolations due to sociological expressions of senses. By sight, smell, hearing and the like, people note differences and have stereotyped them in certain symbols with fixed meanings. Some such were referred to under the discussion of inferiority. But there are differences in physical structure which people call race. As noted before, the fal-

lary is in imposing unfounded implications into the term race. But whatever the biological error, it is true sociologically that people make definite differentiations of physical form stereotyped as races, classes, types, nationalities, creeds, values, opinions, and ideals, which cause isolation. These are realities among people.

Some people are isolated from others because of mental ability. Thus the low *I Q* pupil is retarded, is isolated from his class, feels inferior, seeks psychic compensation by withdrawal and daydreaming, all of which accentuates his isolation. Or he is put in a "special class" and thus isolated. High *I Q* also isolates. The normal curve runs down at both ends so that just as morons, idiots, and imbeciles are rare compared to the model types of mentality, so also is genius rare. Thus very capacity marks off genius from its fellows and isolates it both realistically and statistically. A really great leader suffers intense loneliness—Washington at Valley Forge, Lincoln during the Civil War, Wilson during the World War. There is true symbolism in the isolation of Lindbergh on his flight to Paris. Great genius must soar alone if it would achieve; the dictates of the average person would make true invention impossible. Especially is this true in the field of aesthetics. A leader must stand out before his group; the very nature of leadership requires at least that much isolation. He is a protocrat, to use a word coined by Franklin Giddings—one who rules by virtue of his firstness. He is the first to see a problem, the first to define it, the first to suggest a solution, the first to work it out. Such "first" people are sometimes accepted as leaders, natural leaders; sometimes they are martyred; they inevitably suffer loneliness.

Then there are differences in attitude that isolate. They are expressed in all forms of sectarianism. Rotary Club, I.W.W., Chamber of Commerce. They are based on wealth, creed, occupation, profession, knowledge, and the like. Anyone who holds different attitudes is a stranger. Isolate him for he may possess a demon—good or evil. He may be the devil in disguise or an angel in disguise. Keep him

isolated at least at arm's length until you can make sure which he is. Thus do we generally treat strangers, personally or nationally.

Isolations also result from differences in culture. The variant customs of dress, language, manners, ideals, and the like mark people's differences strikingly and operate against contact.

In addition to these isolations which occur because of the natural obstructing of barriers geographical, biological, or attitudinal, there are those created deliberately as techniques of superiority. They are ambitious, practical efforts to compensate for feelings of inferiority. They intentionally exploit any power or advantage artificially to segregate the persons on whose shoulders they want to climb. Thus they create social distance.

#### SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance is the isolating of people. There are varying kinds and degrees of social distance. It may occur spontaneously and naturally, as just enumerated, or deliberately and artificially. The attitudes of slave holders toward their Negroes would be natural, those of the K K K whipped up by propaganda would be artificial. Around us we keep people off at varying distances. Thus it is possible to rank from most to least distance all the people with whom we have contact. Least isolated will be those one loves — husband, wife, relative, or friend. Most isolated will be those we regard as hateful, obnoxious, or harmful. Corresponding to these attitudes are behaviors or practices that we carry on with these people. So different types of people can be arranged on one ordinate and the things done with them may be scaled on another ordinate. Thus one may secure a profile of a person's social distance attitudes toward all those in his community with whom he comes into contact. For the moment we need not be concerned how he got that way; we merely find out what his attitudes toward others are. Following is a sample of such a social distance test:



## NORMAL SOCIAL DISTANCE TEST \*

School \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nationality \_\_\_\_\_ "Race" \_\_\_\_\_ Religion \_\_\_\_\_

Directions: Below you will find a list of nationalities and races in the column at the left and at the top typical activities that people carry on. On each line put a check (✓) in the proper box for each activity you are willing to perform with the person indicated. If unwilling, leave box empty.

"Race" or Nationality	Activities									Score
	Go to work places or school	Go to amuse- ment places	Meet at my school	Help to do class work	Accept to school clubs	Swim on a forest	Accompany to church	Teach in my family	Share with my family	
Poles										
Jews										
Germans										
Italians										
Negroes										
French										
Greeks										
Russians										
Swedes										
Spaniards										
Portuguese										
English										
Irish										

\* Adapted from R. B. Rogers by author.

Further examples of artificial segregation are slums, jails, zoning of cities, different prices for theater tickets, Pullman cars, race prejudice—the Nordic myth, ethnocentrism—the tendency for every race or group to consider itself superior, cliques in school, prizes, organization, the hermit, and prayer.

#### SOCIAL RESULTS OF ISOLATION

It should not be assumed that isolation is not desirable. There are times when it is absolutely necessary for personal or collective survival deliberately to isolate one's self from others. Such isolation gives personal freedom from group control, which may result from too much or too long contact, of personal wishes. Privacy is as important for the infant and the young child as for the adult. A person must have some place where he may be strictly isolated. This is an important defense against too complete invasion of a personality. Moreover, isolation frequently makes it possible to select one's contacts. On a regular teaching position one must take one's associates as given; so after ten months of such compulsory contacts, one selects those he desires by going on a vacation. He isolates what he does not want and contacts with what he does. Vacations are professional life-savers, they provide catharsis from tensions that have grown out of enforced and undesirable contacts. Getting away from one's job gives perspective which may function for a superior life adjustment.

On the other hand there are negative results from isolation if the isolation is not voluntary but enforced. Solitary confinement is the worst of punishments; man withers and dies under continued compulsory isolation as does a flower without water. Degrees of social isolation seem to correlate with degrees of success in adjustment. In the inbreeding of biological defects and racial backwardness through isolation there comes personal deterioration. People go to pieces, become disorganized when deliberately isolated as under urban conditions through the loss of status or the loss of personal norms. That is why maladjustments ranging from misbe-

havior to crime and immorality are found chiefly in cities and in those sections of the cities where life is most disorganized as in hotel and rooming-house areas and slum areas. Here are found the "rouls," the "rakes," the "ne'er-do-wells," the "down-n-outers," the vicious, and the criminal. Suicides occur in specific areas in large cities;\* so does "juvenile delinquency." Before prostitution was spread throughout our cities by breaking up the "red light districts" it was concentrated and isolated from the remainder of the community.

Thus the effects of isolation of varying degrees may be favorable or unfavorable to personal and social adequacy. What obtains in any instance can be determined only upon analysis.

#### SOCIAL INTERACTION

THE TERM *social interaction* was first introduced into sociology by Simmel and Gumplovicz who considered it the unit of investigation. Social interaction is then the central phenomenon which it is the business of sociology to analyze and describe. Certainly, social interaction is a unit of investigation when social processes are being studied but it would not be satisfactory when studying the structural or static phases of human status, relationships, and organization.

Society is social interaction and the resultant relationships. Social interaction is mutual influencing, reciprocal influencing of people. It is interaction and response. Psychologically, people are stimuli and people are responders; sociologically, people condition one another's behavior by suggestion. Social interaction is association, the one quality that forms people into groups. When this group nexus of social interaction is present between two or more people, then a group exists. Otherwise, the people are merely a statistical or economic class. They are not a group unless they are mutually influencing one another by primary or secondary contact or both. Simply defined, then, a group is two or more persons carrying on social interaction.

\* Corbin, *Road Block, Smokey Snow, Clifford R., Delinquency Area in Chicago*.

Social interaction is the most inclusive concept in sociology. By it one can have all kinds of sociologies, for social interactions are found among animals and plants. That is not to suggest that the phenomena are the same among sub-human animals and among plants. It is merely to signify that among all sorts of living organisms there are mutual influences that create societies of animals, birds, plants, insects, which function for their biological survival. This fact suggests that human society as well is a technic of biological survival. Toward sociality man has always bred himself. Whenever one of his group varied too greatly, thereby threatening the safety of the group, the collectivity applied its defense and eliminated the unsociable member. The more sociable, the more kind or co-operative have always had a premium put upon them in rewards and honors. "The meek shall inherit the earth." The meek have already done so, man has seen to that. But unfortunately for most humans, that is just it; the meek inherit six feet of it while the mighty enjoy the fruit of it.

#### AREAS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION


AREAS of social interaction develop naturally as determined by the conditioning factors, geography, biology, technology and society. Thus a valley surrounded by mountains and drained by a river system may be not only a watershed but also a social drainage basin. The folk on the farms on the uplands and along the streams make their way down to the village or town where they secure the services that enable them to satisfy their wishes. The entire area served by such a center is a social basin, an area of social interaction, within which the people are continually mutually influencing one another in all sorts of ways.

Or you may find a tribe of American Indians or a region settled by Mexicans and Spanish within which people possess the same culture, talk the same language, have the same values and ideals, and develop a unitary culture, due to specific forms of social interaction. This would be a natural area of social interaction. Examples would be an Indian Reservation, the southwest region of New Mexico, Ar-

area, and Southern California, where the racial and culture characteristics significantly determine the outlines of the area.

Or again in cities, where technology and society play predominant roles in societal phenomena, you may find natural areas of social interaction. A business section is such, a residential section, a hotel area, a vice area, a suburban dormitory or matriarchal area, a classroom, a high school, are illustrations. Within these there are characteristic activities and rhythms, language and speech, mannerisms, problems, and the like. Neighborhoods and communities are natural areas of social interaction with significant differences which will be discussed in a later chapter.

What educational implications are to be found in these areas of social interaction? First, since they tend to correspond to culture areas, what has been said concerning culture areas applies here. They should be made the basis of differentiating typical societal activities and problems upon which differentiated school programs should be built. Thus, whatever the common core-curriculum might be as representing the national culture, there is a marginal addition which represents the distinctive aspects of the area of interaction in which the school is located. Only so can the curriculum function for true social adjustment.

As an example, consider the societal data pertinent to determining objectives and content for a course in a normal school. Surely one would readily see that they might differ materially as between New Hampshire and New Mexico or Alabama. One could analyze and locate on a map the residences of all the registrants in a normal school for a period of ten years and thus delimit a *patronage area*. This would provide a basis for further investigation of the societal data of that area upon which instruction would then be based in order to build upon students' typical experiences. Next, make a spot map indicating where during the last ten years all the graduates of the normal school have taken  teaching positions. This would delimit the school's *service area*. By analyzing the data concerning the schools, their activities and needs, and those also of the communities or areas of in-

interaction in which the schools are located one would secure further materials for objectives and contents in the course for preparation of teachers. Manifestly in certain regions the patronage area and the service area would show marked differences; in others the similarities would be great. Whatever the findings they could be translated into a practical program for teacher-training that would function vitally because the purposes and materials would come from students' past experiences and be complemented by their future needs realistically analyzed.

The second main application of this concept of the natural area of social interaction is to adapt to it the unit of administrative organization. As things are now these natural areas are intersected by boundary lines of political units. School districts are broken up artificially; township and county lines are run by surveyor's instruments; rivers are taken as boundaries cutting natural communities in two. The net effect is that people's spontaneous groupings are violated in the units of school administration with an inevitable loss of support. So far as possible these practical units should be made to conform to real natural units of social organization.

The objection that may be raised against this proposal is that these areas of social interaction change from time to time under the determination of movements of population, new inventions, geographic modifications and the like. Therefore we should have to change our units. That is correct, but why should we not scrap old units when they do not answer our needs? Let our educational research bureaus through their sociological divisions be on the alert to discover these changes and to suggest the new delimitations that social diagnosis demands.

#### COMMUNICATION

THE MEDIUM of social interaction is communication. Without contact there is no communication; and without communication there is no social interaction. In this sense John Dewey was right when he wrote in *Democracy and Education*, "Society is communication."

## NATURAL MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

Of the natural media of communication the senses and their functions come in for first consideration. What is communicated by a powdered nose, shined shoes, stylish hat, or fashionable dress? Is it not social status — wealth, family position, personality, wishes, and values? Or by perfumes or odors? When you wait in line at the bank next to a farmer who smells of kerosene, you need not be told that he has been nurturing his fields. What is communicated when you shake hands with a person whose hands are moist and cold (temperature) and whose grip is flabby and soft (pressure)? Or what when you sit down to a meal (taste) of your old favorite dishes prepared by your mother? Consider what is communicated by writing or painting, "For Brutus was an honorable man," as compared to speaking it with the irony and sarcasm in the inflections and intonations of the voice (hearing).

Or consider the operation of the intimate senses that have been called the "sources of wisdom" — pain, equilibrium, kinesthetic and organic or visceral senses. Analyze a religious service or a school assembly to see just how these natural bases of communication are exploited to enhance the qualities of the experiences. Music, figures of speech, are definitely utilized in such situations to exploit the interpretive senses.

## RAPPORT

As a result of these sense concepts which are mediated by the self and interpreted as tools of personal adjustment and which then become perceptions, a person secures recognition of likeness and difference. This recognition of identity or likeness or similarity is rapport. It makes possible favorable conditions for opening up communication between people. Thus I walk into a train and opposite me see a fraternity pin with certain details. I refer this concept to myself and judge it to be mine. I have already projected my own personality into that kind of fraternity pin. So has my fellow-passenger. I give the secret signs which he recognizes. The recogni-

tion of such identities creates rapport. We know that each of us has had similar experiences in the fraternity; we can depend upon that. There is a sympathy and acceptance of a situation that otherwise would be a stranger- not a friend-situation. The same effort may be secured by hearing your family name, your native tongue spoken in an alien land, noticing a uniform like your own, and so on indefinitely. The stereotyped symbols of identity are created deliberately to produce rapport and its outcome its communications that mean social interactions or mutual influencings. Rapport is thus the outcome of contact, i.e., sensory functioning, interpretation of situation in terms of self and its role. It is the initial phase of communication wherein the person offers his personality at least in part to those with whom he is communicating.

#### EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

EMOTIONAL expressions are also natural modes of communication. What is communicated is not so certain, however, because F. H. Allport has experimentally shown that observers could not very accurately label photographs designed to portray fear, anger, sorrow and the like.\* But blushing, once a natural device for protective coloration, in human beings operates in a quite opposite way to reveal to others the confusion or embarrassment of the person. A sudden appearance of a mottled self far out of harmony with the ideal self leaves a person uncertain in a crisis, particularly when others are conceived to be aware of such difficulty. Quite beyond control there are bodily changes that send the blood to the surface and reveal this state of affairs.

Laughter may communicate different attitudes. There is sympathetic laughter, mimetic laughter, hysteric laughter, and punitive laughter. The type of sounds and the manner of laughter communicate attitudes of acceptance, rejection, or punishment. Thus we *just* laugh, or we laugh *with* others, or laugh *at* them. Novelty is the essential condition for the production of laughter except for the punitive type. Thus a telegram informing a person of the death of a loved one,

\* *Social Psychology*, Ch. IX.



may, if the person is sensitive with sensations, result in laughter—hysterical. Or a story with a sudden turn of thought or speech quite unexpected will produce laughter. Whether it is punitive or hysterical or sympathetic all depends—upon the joke!

Crying communicates personality states somewhat analogous ■ blushing. It may be merely hysterical or a confession of bankruptcy, or a deliberate technic of controlling the behavior of others in the interests of personal wish satisfaction. Private crying may be merely for catharsis which does not involve immediate communication.

All these may be summed up as forms of gesture and considered stereotyped movements or manipulations of parts of the body, commonly called "gesture." Communication by body gestures depends upon the meanings that have been crystallized and captured in them as symbols.

#### LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE is voice gesture, which in ordinary speech, at least in primary contacts, is supported by body gesture. ■ is highly organized gesture to communicate the complicated and subtle ideas and sentiments that human culture has evolved. Language is highly organized, highly stereotyped symbols of meanings. It is not the word in print or in sound that is so important, but the meanings that attach to it. But ordinarily both the words and the meanings in a social situation characterize, as already suggested, an area of social interaction, which may then be called a universe of discourse.

#### "UNIVERSE OF DISCOURSE"

A *UNIVERSE OF DISCOURSE* is a complex of words and speech numerisms with definitely well-understood meanings. A science is a universe of discourse. The natural areas mentioned earlier are universes of discourse. Within such areas people use similar meanings and similar meaning symbols. Pupils have one natural spontaneous universe of discourse and their teachers have another—the latter derived from their academic and professional preparation. Creeds and theologies, political platforms and campaigns represent uni-

verves of discourse. The concept of science, the word of literature, the jargon of juveniles, and the slang of common speech are representative of different universes of discourse, or different areas of social interaction.

The following list is offered as an example of the continuity of meaning in spite of the change of symbols in a universe of discourse:

### JARGON OF THE JUVENILES\*

Grandma	Mother	Daughter
Charmer	Vamp	Red-hot mama
Hot air	Spooling	Apple sauce
Wall flower	Dead one	Flat tire
Heart breaker	Lady killer	Sheik
The laugh	Merry ka-ka	Raspberries
Dude	Spaz	Cake-eater
Four-stubber	Sponge	Lounge lizard
Sparkling	Spooning	Petting
Cutie	Chicken	Flapper
Good for you!	Bully!	Attaboy!
Quit yer kiddin'	Lay off	Be yourself
Up stage	Putting on the dog	Buzy
Ah, there!	O you kiddo!	Hot dog!
The goods	The cheme	Cat's meow
Guy	Poor tump	Poor bab
Beat it	Skideo	Ankle along
Poor sport	Tight-wad	Cheap skate

*Arranged to show evidence of certain slang words through three generations.*

Thus words may change though meanings remain. Or meanings may change though words remain. For example, during the last war all the contending peoples were using the terms "democracy," "rightism," "defense," and the like. How then could they fight? Because of the different meanings for the words they used. Also in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, the contenders use the same words "God," "Christ," "the World," "salvation," "sin" and many others. Why the controversy? Because the people are really not talking the same language, for they are using the same words so differently that they cannot understand one another. During the War the *New York Forward* was using

Yiddish language was more "patrician" than the New York *Nation* which used English. What determines a universe of discourse is the complex of meanings that have become reasonably stabilized for the symbols used.

#### COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATION

THREE accepted, stereotyped meaningful symbols become representative of certain collectivities. Thus lawyers can be distinguished by their speech in courts, their mannerisms and attitudes. But there are certain functionaries in each community whose special rôle cannot be adequately communicated quickly enough through normal functioning as their collectivity and function is symbolised in uniforms or other types of collective representation, such as badges, flags, class flowers, or what you will. Soldiers, nurses, policemen, detectives, street cleaners, conductors, readers of gas meters and the like illustrate the use of insignia to define the person's status and function and degree of reliability. In general, it may be suggested as an hypothesis that as the crisis with which the functionary deals increases in severity, the more the tendency is to clothe that person in some form of collective representation.

Why should not teachers and students wear uniforms? The smock is rapidly becoming one in business offices and art schools. It is quite possible that as education becomes professionalised, there may arise a demand for uniforms for teachers. Surely many low-paid teachers could profit by wearing a uniform when in service. Already there are badges for Phi Delta Kappa, the men's educational honorary fraternity. What does the key of this society communicate to you?

#### DEGREES FOR EDUCATORS

PROFESSIONAL licenses and diplomas come under this category. But the higher degrees of A.B., B.S., M.A., and Ph.D., do not satisfactorily distinguish professional collectivity when they are given for majors in education. They should be changed for such professional preparation to Bachelor, Master, or Doctor of Education or Pedagogy or still more specific and differentiated degrees indicating more precisely just what

the person's function in the school system is and what the quality of his preparation is.

As educations become more scientific and specialized this will come in due time. Meantime confusion could be avoided by differentiating degrees for education and other degrees, and degrees for teaching should be separated from degrees for research. To give a Ph.D. to one who wants to teach and require him to do research preparation is a sorry confusion of objectives and methods. Give a Doctor of Pedagogy to a teacher and a Doctor of Education to a researcher when each has completed his highest post-graduate professional education. Precedents are found in the degrees of professional schools of business, law, medicine, dentistry. Do educators suffer from an inferiority complex that they are so loath to give up the Ph.D. degree?

#### PARTICIPATION AS COMMUNICATION

When contact is established resulting in rapport so that communication follows, participation occurs. Through participation of varying degrees membership in groups is achieved, and not until then.

Through invention the range of operation of the natural sense functions is extended. Telephones and radios make possible by mechanical devices the transmission of symbols of sounds by changing the sounds into such forms as the natural organs of hearing can detect. These achievements enable us to overcome the barriers of physical space, and great numbers of people are brought into widely extended group memberships that would otherwise be impossible. It is fast becoming an actual accomplishment to teach by these new devices. Expert teachers can by talkies, radios, and television carry on instruction in thousands of classrooms over large areas where the schedule and equipment make it possible. Our schools only await the adjustments of periods and subjects and the installation of the equipment. Meanwhile teachers would do well to study these methods and prepare themselves for the larger leadership that these new opportunities afford. Only the very best will be selected for such services. Others will be needed to tutor, advise, direct, and

test, but doubtless the best-paid ones will be the exceptionally capable in broadcast instruction.

One fear is voiced against such development, namely, that such large-scale instruction will tend to standardize and regiment education even more than at present. This will not necessarily be true if educators are aware of the needs for additional differential instruction where local cultures suggest complementary materials. In certain subjects this wholesale instruction can be carried on more readily than in others. The materials of science, demonstration lessons in health, national history, and social science general enough to tap the fundaments of national culture and problems can obviously be so transmitted to the saving of time and money as well as the substitution of experts for poor teaching. But in the subjects where agreement is not yet had on materials, on controversial and more local issues this method is not so well adapted.

But with quick transportation and rapid means of communication at hand the range of social interaction and therefore social participation are tremendously extended. Groups are therefore larger and increasing in size, making for new techniques of societal control in education, religion, economics, and politics. Speeches at educational conventions are broadcast, so also sermons, discussions of unemployment and the need of large statesmanlike economic planning, and political campaigns. The present trend bids fair to bring back democracy or the rule of the people to something of the effectiveness of the early New England town meeting days. Whereas formerly we were losing touch with our political leaders and were compelled to select them and trust them, now by radio, press, telegraph, and letters, people are exerting more and more direct influence on their political representatives. When Alfred E. Smith was Governor of New York, during his last term of office, his Republican legislature threatened to refuse to carry out the clear mandates of the people in voting a large bond issue for the improvement and enlargement of state institutions for the care of prisoners, sick, dependents and the like. One night over the radio he clearly defined the situation for the people of

New York. The next few days brought as many protests from Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists that the legislative majority did not dare to vote down the bond issue. Thus is political influence for good or evil wielded in a more powerful way through the extension of the ranges of communication. During war time Shanghai had war news by radio as soon as New York. Even now do we hear daily reports of the weather in European countries. And by air, mail is carried not only from coast to coast but down the long stretches of the South American continent. The world is growing relatively smaller and people are in secondary contact in such short periods of time that it seems well-nigh miraculous. We live in an age when the world is fast approaching a universal area of social participation with reference to world crises and world problems. Science, trade, art, war, and international relations are great issues that pull people everywhere into world-wide groupings. Are we educating satisfactorily for such participations?

#### DETERMINATION OF PARTICIPATION

PARTICIPATION may be studied and analyzed quantitatively. One may discover the number of memberships a person holds and compare them with the total number of groups in which he may hold membership and so index participation in terms of group memberships. The formula is:

$$\frac{PGM}{TG} \cdot 100 = MPQ$$

wherein *PGM* means "personal group membership" or the groups to which a person actually belongs, *TG* means "total groups" which are open to him, and *MPQ* means "membership participation quotient." Manifestly all groups cannot be considered because some are open only to males, others only to females, some to those of one social, or economic, or professional class only. Pupils can be studied for any school in this way and indexed for the membership participations. Such data throw light on the social worlds that determine their behaviors and the characteristics of their personalities.

We are also enabled to get a clue as to their wish-satisfactions and to evaluate them relative to normal and healthy personality developments.

Studies along such lines have already been made with reference to precising the "pourt system," because it has become apparent that activities are not equally distributed among the pupils or students of a school. Some do too much and some too little, but the method above enables us to make such distributions more precise and scientific. A highly positive correlation has been found to exist between the number of activities and the intelligence of students in high schools and colleges. The conclusion seems to be not that such ranges of activities increase the intelligence but that those with higher intelligences can carry on more varied programs of activities and are more frequently selected as leaders.

J. L. Hynes' study of *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*,\* (Lebanon, Connecticut) revealed definite distributions of group memberships correlated with nationality, types of farms, character of soils and the like. Those having least memberships were the poorer immigrant families.

Further refinements in participation indexes can be secured by the use of time units, for clearly membership alone does not give an adequate picture of participations. One may belong to a number of groups but attend some much and others little. The formula for this is:

$$\frac{PGM \times PT}{TG \times TT} \cdot 100 = PQ$$

wherein the same symbols have the same meanings as previously but *PT* means "personal time" or the time a person actually spends with the group, and *TT* means "total time" which the groups spend in meetings or in carrying on their activities. *PQ* here stands for a participation quotient thus corrected for accuracy.

Manifestly too all these time units of minutes or hours spent in actual group participation are not of the same value. Some are more significant for the group, others for the person as a participating personality. Further refinements for

\* T. C. Rec. of Publications 1927.

precision of results may be secured by analyzing the activities of a group, then by having these activities ranked or weighted according to a practical method by two types of persons, so far as measuring pupils' participations is concerned, teachers and principals and the students themselves. One will then get at the evaluation of these activities from the point of view of educators who are concerned about the larger educational implications of such participations checked against the personal wishes and purposes of the pupils. If possible one may also add as further check the rankings of the activities by the group itself in order to get their estimates on the varying importance of the different activities analyzed. Still further refinements are possible but they are too technical for presentation here.

For example, a pupil belongs to five out of a total possible ten groups in his school. He spends by actual record 120 hours of participation out of a total 360 which the groups spend. From this

$$\frac{5 \times 120}{10 \times 360} \times 100 = 16.6 \text{ PQ}$$

Thus the indexes for persons may be compared among themselves and modal amounts of participation secured. Members of groups may be compared, always keeping in mind the inadequacy of the formula, for a picture of group participations. Groups themselves may be indexed in this way and compared with other groups. By this method personal and group similarity or divergence in participation may be quantified and indexed. For norms of comparison one may use either the modal participation or the total found for a group or a number of groups. Standard deviations can then be secured for persons and groups. By further research of correlating such data with intelligence, school achievement, home backgrounds, social age, and personality characteristics we may eventually be able to interpret significantly just what these PQ's mean educationally.\*

The same general technic can be applied not only to groups for a school as a whole but also to groups in the community.

\* See *Index reference* under *Chapter Readings*.



These groups can be evaluated and interpreted in terms of their conformity or opposition to the general types and degrees of participation for a community as a whole. Such quantifications of social participations represent a long series of much-needed investigations for a more scientific control of teaching and school organization, especially extra-curricular activities, if we are to get out of them the maximum educational effects.

Group memberships can be studied to reveal the data on participations of pupils by diary records kept of such activities checked against statements of group members as a whole or of leaders of groups, or against group records, if any. Thus the personal activity can be secured through confessional interview, by diary record, or by group record, if minutes are kept. The evaluations or worths of these activities can be ranked by the members, by the group as a whole, and by authorities or by experts in school and, as would be desirable at times, by the leaders of the community. Finally divergence or similarity can be analyzed by statistical method to compare the varying degrees of social participations in terms of persons, groups, social worlds, and communities.

The participations could then be compared with attitudes by giving attitude tests as suggested previously and the similarities and differences noted between attitude indexes and PQ indexes for persons, schools, groups, social worlds, and communities. Obviously there is a rich field for research here for anyone who has the capacity and desire to do pioneer work in education.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What physical aspects of your school situation facilitate contact? Create isolation? Make concrete proposals for such improvements as you think possible.
2. What effects on isolation do school classifications create? Severally consider 1. Q., grades and promotions, deafness, blindness, or other handicaps, private schools.
3. Do you think that teaching in the first six grades can ever be effected by correspondence? Contrast the superiorities of primary over secondary groups for school recalcitrance.
4. Can you show that the more isolated people are the less well adjusted? Do delinquents suffer from isolation?
5. Under what conditions would you isolate a pupil for his own advantage?
6. How do teachers get rapport at the opening of school? Why is this important?
7. Of what value for personality diagnosis is the P. Q?

### EXERCISES

(Select any one)

1. Make a graph showing your contacts for each five-minute period of a day from rising until retiring, either at home or at school, classified according to primary or secondary, blood or non-blood, direct or indirect.
2. In the list of school groups already arranged in a previous exercise classify them according to the type of contact.
3. Make a contact index for yourself.
4. Analyze your contacts on a basis of five-minute periods and

classify and compare, vertical or horizontal, continuity or mobility.

5. Cite an instance when you suffered from isolation due to social distance.

6. Make a spot map showing the residence of students in your school for the past ten years for a patronage area. The same to show the present location of graduates from your school for a service area. Compare and draw conclusions for school policy as to curriculum and objectives.

7. Make a collection of words or phrases distinctive of a social world in your school as a "universe of discourse."

8. Work out your own *P. Q.*

## CHAPTER XII

### SOCIAL INTERACTION (Continued)

**W**HEN RAPPORT is established by contact and social interaction occurs through the medium of language, the mutual influences operate by the mechanisms of suggestion and imitation.

#### SUGGESTION AND SUGGESTIBILITY

LADY MACBETH used suggestion on Macbeth when she proposed that the king's visit would afford an opportunity to dispatch him and so make way for Macbeth's ambitions. In *Othello* Iago needs but ask if that ■ Cassio that slinks away so guiltily in order to arouse the Moor's suspicion ■ Desdemona. And recall how Mark Antony in his funeral oration, in *Julius Caesar*, kept repeating the phrase, "For Brutus is an honorable man," which suggested just the contrary. Or remember the phrase that was so popular a few years ago attributed to Coué: "Day by day, in every way, I am growing better and better."

Suggestion is a term that describes such a wide variety of influencing that it is difficult to define. Especially if we maintain that after all the person is the active agent in any situation. Suggestion then is a part of the conditioning of a person in a situation. However, the best clue for a definition of the category may be found in hypnosis which is suggestion at its maximum.

#### HYPONOTIC

BORIS STURM in his *Psychology of Suggestion*, as a result of extensive laboratory experiments, submits the following conditions in a situation as most favorable to the production of

hypnosis: (1) fixation of attention upon some object or idea; (2) monotonous environment, which is secured by striking a single soft note of music on a regular beat or by keeping the person in the same place for a period of time; (3) physical relaxation with a limitation of voluntary bodily movements; (4) exclusion of stimuli that would divert attention; (5) an inhibition of ideas extraneous to those introduced for control. Success in hypnosis under such conditions is said to be secured when the person hypnotized does directly what the experimenter tells him to do.

From this one may conclude that suggestion varies in kind and degree. In a sense, all people are more or less hypnotized, but such influence is called hypnosis only in extreme cases of controlled influencing by others. Advertising and salesmanship and propaganda are practical illustrations of deliberately manipulated suggestion, or hypnosis in mild forms. To see a notice on the bulletin board to hand in notebooks to the instructor for examination and to carry out this direction is suggestion. Some suggestions are good and some bad, or to put it differently, some are social and constructive and others are antisocial and destructive; some function for social adjustment, others for maladjustment. The latter may be exemplified by the occasion when a gang of boys attempts a burglary by methods and with tools they saw employed in a similar type of situation in the movies.

Every teacher uses suggestion constantly. It is the chief mechanism in the teaching process and yet it has not been adequately investigated. To influence the child for learning the teacher manipulates circumstances, grades, and promotions, lesson assignments, examples and illustrations and other aids, sets problems, conducts classes, hears reports, and the like — all are forms of controlling suggestion.

#### TYPES OF SUGGESTION

THREE general kinds of suggestion are: (1) conscious suggestion, (2) unconscious suggestion, (3) auto-suggestion. Conscious suggestion is the influencing of the child in a teaching-learning situation wherein both teacher and pupil

are aware of what is happening and co-operate for a common end ■ is inculcation as defined previously.

Unconscious suggestion is acculturation or pick-up learning. It represents those influences that occur without the person's awareness of what is happening. The fine art pictures on the walls of a classroom, the gestures and speech mannerisms of a teacher, the sympathies and attitudes of a teacher all tend to influence the child unconsciously. Not infrequently these may be the most significant determiners of the child's personality adjustments. They are sometimes the chief quality outcomes of our educations because most of our organized efforts—conscious suggestions—are concerned with intellectual achievement.

Auto-suggestion operates through the functioning of memory. Pictures in the mind influence a pupil in the forms of behavior expression symbolized in the pictures; this ■ represented in spontaneous wishings.

#### CONDITIONS OF SUGGESTIBILITY

If suggestion varies in intensity, what are the conditions that correlate with suggestibility? Fundamentally suggestibility varies with identity. Little suggestion can be effected between two people who talk different languages, likewise suggestion is weak when, though the same words are used, they represent widely divergent universes of discourse. Identity of meanings, past experiences, customs, attitudes, ideals and the like enhance suggestibility. The principle is: other things being equal, the more identical elements or characteristics exist among people, the greater is their suggestibility ■ one another.

These identities vary according to societal conditions. Mass or number of people ■ one of these conditions. Thus the larger the group, other things being equal, the greater the suggestibility. The more fatigued or ill people are, the greater their suggestibility. Or again, suggestibility varies in intensity according to dominant societal values. In a static period and in a well-established culture area, age is significant. The older the person, other things being equal, the more suggestible others are to him. In China, fifty years

ago, the older a man was the more suggestible others were to him. Today, this value is losing its effect, because China is dynamic with its revolution against the past politically, economically, domestically, religiously, and ethically. People tend now to be more suggestible to young leaders, much as it is in this country.

In a culture area where wealth is a dominant value, people are highly suggestible to those possessing great wealth. In a religious social world, suggestibility varies according to creeds and religious practices. In an army situation, according to boldness; in a school situation, according to knowledge. Though these are simplified illustrations they should suggest to the student how suggestibility varies according to the societal values which condition the way in which identities may influence people. Multitudes of instances lie ready to hand for the student to cite and classify according to the types listed.

#### PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

Prestige is the leadership aspect of collocative behavior. If a group is suggestible to a leader, then he has prestige. A teacher's prestige depends upon the degree of suggestibility that his pupils reveal toward him. Followership, which is the obverse aspect of leadership, is suggestibility. Each depends upon the other. If a well-trained teacher happens to work under a self-educated principal who is ignorant of the newer professional techniques of teaching, testing, grading, and promoting, these identities are lacking between them, and the teacher is not suggestible to the principal concerning such matters. The principal in that case has low prestige at least in the matters enumerated. To that extent the principal in that situation is a poor leader. His leadership rests merely upon the suggestibility of the teacher to his professional status in the organization in having the power to hire and fire. Conversely, the teacher's prestige with the principal is likely to be low, so that the principal resents proposals for changes made by this teacher—is not suggestible because he does not understand what it is all about. There is still evidence of much need for educating educators.

Manifestly a teacher's efficiency depends upon ■ prestige. He cannot effect teaching leadership without it, traditional teaching notwithstanding. He needs therefore to work consciously and deliberately at building up his prestige—of making his pupils suggestible to him. To this end ■ must study ■ find out what are the dominant values of his school situation. He will need to do this with three different types of persons particularly: pupils, colleagues including his administrators, and parents and citizens in the school community. A certain lady in a high school in a large business and industrial city failed because she did not pay attention to her appearance. Her adolescent girls used "make-up" and dressed fashionably; she paid no attention to these things, saying that only the things of the mind were important. The girls were suggestible not to her teaching, but only to her manners—with the result that her clothes suggested laughter.

On the other hand, a graduate of a teachers' college, who had always lived in a large city, took a position to teach ■ a small town high school. She failed because she did use "make-up" and dressed well. The parents criticized her and the pupils too considered her "stuffy." The societal values in this case were traditional and did not support modern fashions; for these values in dress and appearance were buttressed by traditional beliefs in Quaker simplicity. The simple rule is to study thoroughly the values that exist in a social world and adapt one's practices to them in order to build prestige. This is necessary in each different place because the values vary according to the law of gP Relativity. How far such adaptation should go must be decided by each one for himself.

#### PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTROL OF SUGGESTION

SEVERAL generalizations which Sidis makes may be helpful to teachers. The first is, the more suggestible people are, the more direct the suggestion should be to be powerful. The second, a corollary, the less suggestible—that is, the more critical—people are, the more indirect or slantwise should be the suggestion. In other words, the less the pres-



tige the more the unconscious and indirect forms of suggestions should be manipulated in order to get results equally good as with high prestige and direct methods.

Applications of the foregoing will be made in Volume II, the chapter on "How Shall We Teach?"

#### IMITATION

IMITATION is the motor phase of suggestion. It is overt evidence of being influenced by others. When a person is suggestible to another—who at that moment is his leader—and expresses or carries out the suggestion—that is imitation. It may occur in the form of images, ideas, attitudes, sentiments, or overt practices. It accentuates identities and increases social enities. As people imitate one another they become socialized. An index of socialization can be secured by comparing a person's qualities with group qualities. His identities indicate imitations and reflect his degree of socialization. By the same token, an index of personalization or divergence can be secured, if that is more desirable. The degree of socialization is important to indicate the degree of adjustment secured. This, and not mere participation, is socialization; but most educational theory represents both confusion and ignorance of the proper meaning of the term *socialization*.

It is commonly considered that imitation occurs only in building up habits like those of other people; but suggestion is an important link in the cycle of thinking as already shown. Imitation is therefore involved in the experimental testing of thought-out solutions to crises. It is a part of thinking as well as of habit formation.

As in the case of suggestion, imitation may be conscious or unconscious, depending upon the degree of awareness of the person who is suggestible. Advertising, propaganda, teaching are methods of making people suggestible so that the suggestions presented will be imitated—expressed. Common forms of unconscious imitation are found in the customs and conventionalities that are acquired spontaneously; of conscious imitation, in the deliberate learning of people when they are working their way through crisis situations.

## IMITATION AND OPPORTUNITY

FINALLY, the conditions of imitation are the conditions of suggestibility plus opportunity to carry out the suggestions. This opportunity may take the form of culture resources or of personal wishes or purposes, and of personal capacities. Thus the person may try to utilize a suggestion but cannot find tools to do so—old-fashioned learning of chemistry from a textbook and without laboratory facilities, modern learning without adequate library facilities; or, he cannot express the suggestion because if he did he would lose status in his social world, or he cannot, because he lacks abilities. Helen Keller could not imitate the reading of others because of her blindness though all other conditions for high imitation were present. She had to develop methods of her own, and substituted touch for sight senses in defining her world.

## TYPES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION: ANTAGONISMS

As a result of the processes described types of social interaction occur, which may be broadly classified as social antagonisms and social co-operations.

## COMPETITIONS

THE simplest form of social antagonism is competition. It may best be thought of as parallel efforts to obtain identical ends. Or differently put, it is the utilization of the same tools or materials for wish-satisfactions or for achievement of life-purposes. The elementary sources of competition lie in mutual interdependence which arise from the fact of likeness, for it is true that those who are alike racially or culturally or personally utilize the same or similar means of experience. This is illustrated in commensalism among plants where a number of different plants may grow in the same habitat but each type is drawing certain different qualities or foods from the soil. The real competition is between like members of same species. Whenever people eat, so to speak, from the same table, they compete with one another. This competition is also illustrated by struggle for existence

among animals, which is greater between the same species than between different species.

Competition among people arises because all are human and, having similarities, struggle for their place in the sun. But for the similarities, competition would be lessened to the common denominator of characteristics true of all living organisms. Some competitions arise because people have similarities in skills as among workers performing the same operations, among family members for affection, or among scientific workers for the honor of making first discoveries of scientific facts, or among professional people for renown and income. The teachers' competitions are not so much with principals and superintendents or pupils as with other teachers who teach the same subject at the same level.

Thus all sorts of competitions among people arise from their efforts to satisfy their wishes from the same source of supply, economic, political, religious, educational, and so on, throughout the gamut of human institutions.

Though all of the different types of wishes — personal response, security, dominance, or new experience — are involved in the various forms of competitions, in one combination or another, these competitions may be conscious or unconscious. So long as the means of satisfaction are not limited, so long as people think they have a fair chance to get the means, then they are not particularly aware of these similar efforts for similar ends. When, however, they become conscious of limitations they may become aware of the nature and incidence of competitions. Cotton growers in the South are not generally conscious of their competition with cotton growers in India until the price of cotton gets so low in the China market that some leader, who wants to get better prices for cotton, introduces the fact of India cotton and makes the grower in the South conscious of the situation. Conscious competition is rivalry, amply illustrated in pupil efforts for prizes and grades and promotions.

#### CONFLICTS

When competition does not satisfy wishes adequately for the persons concerned, the persons change the parallel character

of their behavior. They stop working their objectives long enough to interfere with others. Such interference with others in their efforts to get satisfactions is conflict. It is a form of coercing others to cease their activities or redirect them so as to give greater opportunity to the one who gets the advantage. Such coercion may be violent as in fights, revolutions, wars, or non-violent as through propaganda or boycott. Thus people dissatisfied with results of mere competition use force of intellect, muscle, or implement to compel others to grant an advantage.

Conflict is always conscious and is supported by the organizations of stereotyped emotions such as hate, prejudice, anger, scorn and the like, divisive emotions.

Socially significant types of conflict are: mental conflicts, where wishes interfere with one another so that decision cannot be reached by the person, which indecision is frequently reflected in child maladjustment and sometimes crime, legal conflicts as in litigation where contending parties through their counsellors struggle for technical superiority under the law when the coercion may become violent—thrown in prison—if further resistance is shown, class conflicts as in strikes or religious schisms; race conflicts as in lynchings and race riots, culture conflicts as reflected in the Declaration of Independence of the American Colonies from England, immigration exclusion of Japanese, sectionalisms—towns and countryside—and intolerances as of the South toward the North, or vice versa; political conflicts as in elections, nationality conflicts as in war. Athletic contests, debates, discussions for prizes, backbiting and gossiping to injure a fellow-teacher are examples of conflict. So too the efforts on the part of educators to show the weaknesses or defects of certain theories or practices of education and to establish the superiority of their own advocacy.

Many other forms can readily be listed but they can all be analyzed as expressions of conflicts of attitudes and values whether within persons or between groups. Furthermore it is true that all mental conflicts reflect the conflicts of persons, groups, social worlds, or culture areas when the same

person has membership in such varying groups or social worlds.

#### TYPES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: CO-OPERATIONS

THE SAME processes that may eventuate in competitions, rivalries, or conflicts may eventuate in accommodations, assimilations, or co-operations. Competitions may carry on permanently but conflicts sooner or later resolve themselves into some form of co-operation. The alternative is self-destruction. War cannot continue endlessly. Conflicts are costly, as a rule, so in time contenders seek for cessation of the conflict by accommodation.

#### ACCOMMODATIONS

THE simplest form of social harmony is in accommodation, which is acting together. To bring a conflict to a close a new set of human relations is devised which is considered an improvement either over the new situation developed by the conflict or over the original situation. By changing the attitudes and values involved in maintaining the conflict, agreement or consensus is reached. Fighting nations must reach sufficient agreement to want to stop fighting before peace can be restored. The same is true of peace proposal, peace ratification, or peace maintenance. Peace can last only when there is sufficient consensus that various persons or groups live in the same universe of discourse. Failing this, peace breaks down and conflict recurs.

Accommodation represents a sort of equilibrium of social forces secured by integration. That is, some wishes give way to others that are conceded prior or more important; some persons or groups take a superordinate and others a subordinate position. There is thus a resignation of values and attitudes until a certain consensus is reached that the new arrangement is satisfactory. This is true even of victor or vanquished, otherwise fighting continues until complete destruction eliminates contention or obstruction. The master can be master only so long as the man is willing to remain man. There may be also attitudes of protest but these are pushed aside for agreement; such was the condition of France

in 1870 and of Germany in 1919. In time such protest attitudes may assert themselves and deny agreement; then war breaks out again and accommodation ends.

For types of accommodation, the following variety may be noted: personality as the accommodation through organization of conflicting wishes and attitudes or habits in the interests of a unified life-scheme or dominant life-purpose; fixation of behavior patterns in standards, rules, ethics, laws or ceremonies, and conventions which people acquire through their education; peace by coercion as in leagues and setting up a balance of power, or by compromise as in parliaments, denominations, parties, arbitration boards, and the like, or by withdrawal or deliberate self-isolation as in the cases of truant, runaways from home, vagrants, hermits, or suicides; amalgamation of races which is intermarriage; and organizations which align people in status according to their capacities and acceptance of designated status. Community organization is not merely the getting of people together but the integrating of the various social agencies of a community so that the contribution of each agency to community welfare not only does not hinder but actually aids other agencies in making their contributions to a collective output or betterment.

Tradition and culture are forms of accommodation that have become stereotyped and strengthened by conscious approval. By acquiring the predominant institutional ways of doing things people avoid conflicts and readily secure accommodations. Sumner maintained that the "mores are always right." If one follows the mores one will readily secure adjustment and possess a sanctionable social status.

But E. A. Ross maintained that the "mores are never right." He meant that by the time the solutions of collective crises are universalized and institutionalized the crisis has changed so that the adjustment technic always tends to lag behind the needs of the problems. In this sense there is always a lag in every institution and that lag represents what is not "right." Thus they are both right, depending upon which phases of the social processes one is emphasizing—the continuities or the changes.

A word in passing may be said on the terms of the perpetuation of peace. For peace to last it must be grounded upon facts and not fictions. This is true of persons and of nations. Too little social science has entered into the making of peace treaties.

#### ASSIMILATIONS

WHERELIKE accommodation is merely acting together, assimilation is feeling together. The emotions become organized around the same ideas or persons or things in assimilation. People readily on occasion achieve a working together, similar language or clothes and the like, but with difficulty become assimilated. How commonly do people think of assimilating the immigrant in terms of his acquisition of overt forms of behavior? But true assimilation occurs only when the immigrant has the same standards, ideals, and feelings as Americans. These are more elusive and subtle, and are the last phases of socialization. One is assimilated when through acculturation or inculcation he acquires the attitudes and values, with their appropriate sentiments, of an alien culture. It would seem wise then not to break up too quickly our immigrant colonies in American cities, for they provide the transmission of meanings as well as of behaviors, a process that takes time. Speeding up Americanization to include only accommodation is unwise policy. Through church, school, press, court, and the like the definitions of social stereotypes of language or other behaviors are gradually acquired together with their proper uses. Thus are immigrants assimilated into both the material and spiritual phases of culture—whether these immigrants be alien adults or native children.

Finally, it may be noted that mere accommodation is not sufficient for lasting peace nor for internationalism. The universal practices must be supported by universal sentiments in a world universe of discourse before internationalism can be anything more than a pious hope. Should schools further this end? If so, how?

FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: CHANGES  
AND CONTINUITIES

Changes and continuities arise from any of the processes previously described. Social antagonisms sometimes result in changes, sometimes in continuities, the same is true of social co-operations. On account of limitations of space, it is possible here only to suggest a method of study, so there are listed social changes arising from social antagonisms and social continuities arising from social co-operations. This is only half the story in each case. So the student should keep this in mind else he will get a false impression of the effects of the various types of social interactions in producing societal trends.

## SOCIAL CHANGES FROM ANTAGONISMS

Through competitive interactions occur changes which may be briefly illustrated as follows: migrations and swarming movements of peoples due to competitions for land or pasture or other natural resources such as gold on the Pacific Coast or diamonds in South Africa, or under the influence of climate. When the once fertile regions of central Asia on the shore of the great inland sea dried up, competition for means of living was increased until even that was insufficient. To meet their problem peoples migrated to new fertile areas. This took them westward where they came into contact with others who had migrated there before them. Competition was increased until the westerners in turn migrated. Thus was transmitted throughout Europe the change in the geographical distributions of peoples which was caused by increased competition, and in turn wherever it occurred, thereby further increased competition. Finally the effects were felt in the great invasions of Rome by the Visigoths.

Or again, under economic competition technological inventions are constantly being made, which in turn enhance economic competition. Meanwhile great changes occur not only in the maintenance moves but also in the secondary and tertiary moves. Most of the great societal changes that command our attention today are the results of trends intro-



duced by the Industrial Revolution, which brought power and mass production of goods. On every hand, do we see changes due to inventions in the tools of production—steam shovels and road building in opening the minds of people as contrasted with country schools, for example—inventions in modes of transportation, the technique of distribution, and methods of protecting life and property—police and military forces.

Also through competitions come changes in non-material phases of culture; practices that represent adjustments to the technological inventions. Such are fads and fashions, though sometimes these phenomena are not closely related to maintenance activities; changes in human relationships as seen in foreign trade as a cause of international rivalry and wars; social unrest because of the crises created by such changes as in periods of unemployment or protests of parents to improvements in school methods when they fail to understand what is involved. Beyond a desire on the part of the administrator to gain publicity and thus an advantage in the competition for advancement in salary or status.

Some characteristics of changes through competitions are that they are gradual and unconscious, constantly create realignment of persons by breaking down old organizations and building up new types, provide for freedom and movement of peoples or groups; make possible the removal of social wastes or create social wastes; secure societal selections in the readaptations involved in changes; create conditions of social instability and set the stage for social conflicts. Whether the effects are good or bad can be determined only by evaluation of effects of social changes on personalities and institutions. As yet precise criteria are not adequately defined. Some of these changes are "good" for the 51 new members (1930) of the "Million-a-year-income Club," but the millions of unemployed or underpaid call them "bad."

Changes due to social conflicts, which are competitions speeded up to mutual interference in place of mutual tolerance, are: conflicts of ideas as in discussion or debate where new data displace old as superior and new norms of behavior strive for recognition; culture conflicts due to culture

diffusion through expansion of trade and commercial conflicts or wars which have always tremendously accentuated culture diffusion. Under the necessity of quick adjustments to crises habits are readily changed, old institutions are scrapped. Thus new human relationships are created, and new problems and new crises under the habit and loyalties that the conflicts engender, as in strikes, riots, revolutions, or wars. New groups are formed, new leaders arise, reforms long resisted are readily adopted and changes that seemed incredible are promptly secured. Consider the flood of social legislation from the Federal Government when the United States entered the World War, or the actions passed by municipalities and states to cope with unemployment.

Social changes arising from conflicts disturb the social order more violently than do changes from competitions. Therefore one finds more extremes in social experiences during periods of conflict: the adjustments necessitated by the crises produce radicalism or conservatism, depending upon the effective and articulate majority. Social consciousness is aroused and criticism may be fostered or completely wiped out by censorship, depending upon the severity of the crisis and the confidence of the leadership in the loyalty of the following. Because of this conscious aspect of conflict changes, deliberation plays a greater rôle in securing social control or readjustment than in competition. There is then in periods of conflict a tendency to use experts to mobilize the improved techniques of science and to speed up invention. This is well illustrated in the recent conflicts of large business groups in electric utilities, radio, and the like. But accommodations have in many instances been secured as preferable to conflict; such are mergers.

One of the most significant changes due to conflicts is the tendency during such critical periods to lop off quickly any inutilities that appear. People are dismissed from employment; old machines are thrown out; new methods and organizations are effected, economies are sought along all lines. This inevitably creates some confusion and disintegration and enhances social wastes and therefore societal burdens. On the other hand conflicts are met by internal strengthen-

ing of the conflict groups, a purification, a unification for defense. Under such conditions the recalcitrant persons are sharply and summarily handled so as not to weaken the fighting unit. Repression and coercion of such people is a necessary concomitant of conflict.

In general the wishes that seem to be satisfied in a major way through conflict, though all are repressed from time to time, are wishes for dominance and wishes for new experience.

#### SOCIAL CONTINUITIES THROUGH CO-OPERATIONS

Social continuities that arise from accommodations may take the forms of (a) adaptation to a regional situation that gives permanence of residence in a locality and therefore persistence to the habits and wishes characteristically functional of a permanent type of situation. This makes for family tradition such as is common on the large estates of the South. Or they may take the form of (b) adjustments to the cultural milieu as seen in successful family life where one finds transmission of hereditary traits, persistence in family lore and ideals, and satisfaction and expansion of wishes for security and personal response. These adjustments may be seen also in the organized aspects of community life: group membership and their control, inter-group harmony and community integration, conventions, laws, institutions, in leadership-followship, in division of labor and specialization of function, social status, in reforms that always conserve something out of the social heritage, and in religion, peace, and civility.

The characteristics of continuities arising from accommodations are: they preserve past gains but produce conservatism, avoid multiplicity and complexity of norms and standards which changes introduce, provide for social order and personality stability and unity, create equilibrium and preserve the *status quo*, impose traditional norms, and lead to eventual inevitable maladjustment when attitudes persist despite changes in technology and in human relationships. Such continuities tend to harden the arteries of societal life through the development of classes or castes. They do, how-

ever, afford opportunities for testing out the changes effected during periods of conflict and eliminate the wastes due to competitions and strikes.

Continuities due to assimilation are likely to be far more potent and lasting than those due merely to accommodation. In amalgamation,\* which implies some assimilation except in the cases of victor and vanquished or of masters and slaves, there is continuity of traits and spread of traits. ■ If amalgamation continues long enough, with human contact increased through rapid mobility, there will eventually be only one human race. When that time comes the racial bases of social distance will have disappeared and both accommodation and assimilation will have that barrier at least removed.

In assimilation one finds an emotional re-enforcement of the habits acquired through accommodation to regional or personal characteristics. This is seen in family loyalty, love for home and country—patriotism and chauvinism—and for friends. It expresses wishes for personal response and creates mores which become the chief sources of nationalization or defense at times of attack. By such deeply significant processes are cultural unities obtained, attitude similarities are built which make group control very efficient, as so admirably described in Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street*. Because of the long thick intimate contacts the family, the school, and the church are traditionally the principal factors in securing social continuity through assimilation but there is growing evidence that these agencies are being supplanted by movies and the press and radio.

What are the values and characteristics of continuities derived from social assimilation? First of all, they increase social control, whether the effects of that increase are good or bad. Second they provide a more lasting basis for personal and group accommodations because they add feelings ■ the mere acts of getting on together with other people. Third, they create uniformities and solidarities which make possible a commensurate expansion of the range of social interaction,

\* Assimilations.

because more people belong to the same universe of discourse. This is essential to an ideal democracy that aims to reduce destructive conflicts. By creating appreciations of other peoples and cultures we not only enrich personal and community life, but also lay the only basis for an internationalism that is worthy of consideration.

But does not the time come when thorough assimilation produces continuity that in view of culture lag may be its own undoing? Yes, when the task of assimilating youths or immigrants is considered absolutely and dogmatically. But if the norms and feelings are constantly being revised to fit developing situations, assimilations can be made to serve the best changes and preserve those communities that persist in possessing worths for new adjustments. Education as a technique of continuity must (a) safeguard youth against fallacious accommodations or assimilations but must (b) also guarantee to him valid ones. To accomplish these ends education must constantly reexamine its content and its methods if it would serve in taking up the culture lag of any generation.

### READINGS

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## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare conditions of suggestibility in the lecture room, small classroom, laboratory, assembly. Which is more conducive to critical thinking, research, non-violent coercion, indoctrination?
2. What suggestions do you get from your classroom situation: size of class, type of textbook, desks fastened to the floor, movable tables and chairs, etc?
3. What are the essentials for prestige?
4. What is the best time of the day for discussion? For assembly meetings or mass meetings?
5. What characteristic competitions are found in your school? Evaluate each in terms of effects on your own personality as to "good" or "bad" Why?
6. Contrast conflicts in school which are dangerous with those necessary to learning specified concepts or habits.
7. What are urgent needs in educational education in your community for pupils differentially considered: socio-economic status, ability, probable future vocation, and personality characteristics?
8. What changes are being effected in education by antagonisms? By co-operations? What conclusions by antagonisms or by co-operations?

## EXERCISES

1. Take the list of school groups previously worked up and classify them as competition groups, conflict groups, rivalry groups, accommodation groups, or assimilation groups. Weight each according to the educational value.
2. List social consequences that arise from antagonisms and examples of social changes that emerge from co-operations.

## CHAPTER XIII

### CROWDS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**I**N EVERY SCHOOL, no matter of what level, there are various forms of collectivism or groups. The higher the school level and the more people that are involved, the more extensive may the social phenomena become. But the social interactions even in nursery schools and kindergartens and primary grades reveal groupings of pupils, some spontaneous and natural, some artificially or deliberately created by the teachers' manipulations of the conditioning factors.

Besides, in communities and societies of all sizes there are collectivities of various types and social movements. These must be understood by educators, teachers, and administrators, because these groups and movements determine directly and indirectly (a) the social processes of school life, (b) the out-of-school experiences of children, and (c) the needs that schools are set up especially to meet, either by way of counteracting or accentuating the effects of group behavior upon growing personalities of children.

#### ELEMENTARY FORMS OF COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

SUGGESTIONS for the study of characteristics of human behavior in groups can be secured from an observation of collective behavior among animals. Animals live in groups, if only the mating group, and reveal ordinary social interaction and at times definite mass organization, as in packs of wolves, herds of wild horses, or flocks of sheep. Consider first a flock of grazing sheep. Each one follows his own nose; eats a bit and walks a bit. In time this disperses the members of the flock over a wide area. Sometimes this dispersive multi-individual behavior results in complete isolation from the

flock. When a sheep so isolated suddenly becomes aware of it, he runs about bleating fearfully in search of the others. Hence the parable of the Lost Sheep. As the day wears on, the sheep eat less and walk more, thus developing an accentuated mobility, which is a sign of restlessness. But in this stage of collective behavior, there is no organization except what is potential. Each one is for himself; but each is nevertheless under some elementary form of influence of the others as shown by the behavior of a lost sheep.

#### CRISIS AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR OF ANIMALS

THE FLOCK may encounter a crisis which involves a changed behavior from the foregoing, for the sake of adjustment to the new conditions. Thus as already suggested, the sheep develop restlessness and mill about the barn to the pasture, due to the crisis of getting to the barn or sheep cote for the night; or on the plains where the flocks number thousands, they sometimes develop a restlessness as they approach water. This increased mobility is usually circular and because of mass becomes dangerous. The milling process may become so acute that many of the flock are milled to death in the center, thereby causing a financial loss to the shepherd. His problem is to stop the milling process before it becomes dangerous to the safety of the flock. Both these forms of crises are themselves relatively mild and are adjusted to normally by milling.

But if the crisis is sudden and threatening it may throw a flock into extreme fear from which they flee en masse as in a stampede. Such is caused by sudden attack of wolves, or a loud crash of thunder. This form of adjustment may lead to the destruction of the flock or herd entirely as when animals stampede over a cliff or into a river where they are drowned. The stampede is then quite different from the circular milling; it is a dispersive flight from the source of fear under the complete thrall of flight. Here too there is no organization; rather it may be called disorganization, for it no longer is potential as shown by the feebleness of efforts to stop stampedes. The only cure is to herd the animals into



safe regions and let them run out. But all this is dangerous, too, for members are trampled to death in their heedless haste to escape. The following diagrams give further hint as to these forms of collective behaviors of animals.

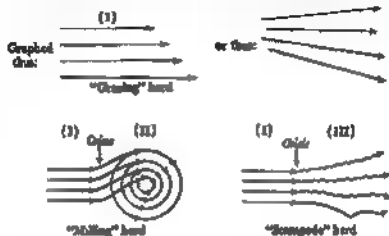


FIG. 6

Normally a mild crisis, like the close of the day, results in the development of a slow milling about until the shepherd opens the bars and lets the sheep return to the barn. Then they develop a definite organization. Certain ones will always bring up the rear—"tailers" in the language of shepherds, others will be found in the middle of the flock—"middlers," and a certain sheep, if none, then a goat, will be the leader. Hence the term scapegoat. These definite positions in the flock reveal animal organization in the normal orderly movement as an adjustment to relatively mild crises. This is shown in the following diagram:



FIG. 7. MOVING HERD

Other animals also reveal similar forms of collective behavior but enough has been presented to show that collective adjustments in varying types of situations are characteristic of animals below man.

#### COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR AMONG HUMANS

While there is abundant evidence of social interaction or mutual influencing among lower animals, one should not conclude that among human beings the social interaction is precisely the same or that it occurs through the same mechanisms. Insufficient investigation leaves us at a loss to make comparisons with any degree of assurance. All we can say is that social interactions do occur.

We have already defined social interaction, which brings into being groups or collectivities. We have stressed the point that groups do not exist until there is definite inter-influence. Social interaction should not be confused with mere reaction, or one-way influence. For example, Figures 8 and 9 illustrate one-way influence; Figure 10 shows a circular type of mutual influence.



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

#### TYPES OF STIMULATION AND RESPONSE

But in true forms of social interaction the influence is reciprocal. A graph would look like this:



FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

#### TYPES OF INTER-STIMULATION AND RESPONSE

Thus to repeat: a group consists of two or more persons bound together by social interaction or mutual influencing whether it be by communication through primary or through secondary contact.

By now it is quite apparent to the student that social interaction effects the control of behavior. Persons in a group have their behavior in least partially determined by the group processes and structure. This is the essence of social control. The notion has already been defined in the case of the most elementary form of social control, namely, *rapproch*. Other degrees of group influence or dominance of personal behavior are revealed in *esprit de corps* and in *morale*. *Esprit de corps* is group loyalty, unity, or solidarity. It is more than the mere recognition of identical characteristics, "the consciousness of kind"—to use Giddings' phrase. It is more than mere accommodation of a person to his group. *Esprit de corps* is sentimentalized identity; it represents assimilation of the values and attitudes, meanings and feelings that dominate the group. We know it as "school spirit."

#### MORALE

MORALE is the extreme form of social control and differs from *esprit de corps* in the degree of influence the group exerts. It is extreme loyalty to the group exemplified by a willingness to make any sacrifice necessary for the group existence or welfare, even to the point of death. Groups whose chief function in society is to make successful collective adjustments to collective crises, manipulate conditions deliberately to build *esprit de corps* into morale. Such groups are army and navy groups. Their members must be trained to such implicit and immediate loyal obedience that when the command is given they will go forward promptly. Otherwise the safety not only of the military group but of the nation back of it is conceived as jeopardized. Any failure to be so controlled is called "treasonable" or "traitorous" or "slacking." Other illustrations of morale are found among policemen, doctors, nurses, railway engineers, boat captains and the like. When these face dangers to their own lives they are expected to carry on for the sake of those dependent upon

them at whatever cost to themselves. Scientists sometimes sacrifice their lives in the pursuit of knowledge as in the discovery of the source of yellow fever or in the use of the X-ray. Such behavior is *morale*, the maximum form of social control of personal behavior. It is the influence of collectivity over personality: it is group ascendancy over individual members of the group and contrasts with leadership which is personal ascendancy over the group. Leaders who reveal morale with respect to their followership have for the time being abdicated to the group influence.

With these general considerations in mind, let us now proceed to analyze and describe the various major types of human collectivities. Not every group is a crowd and not every crowd is alike, as is commonly thought.

#### STREET CROWDS

THE STREET crowd or herd group is found in a hallway in a school during change of classes, on city pavements—especially street intersections in the downtown theater or shopping district, or on the Midway of a Fair or Atlantic City boardwalk or other promenade. Here the interaction is generally in the form of subconscious adjustments in the movements of people who are going about their own businesses, i.e., following their own noses. There is mutual influence but it is weak, because the persons concerned are constantly changing, the contacts are primary or face-to-face and incidental in the pursuit of personal objectives or wish-satisfactions, and the contacts are momentary, hence, "thin." This is just another way of saying that suggestion is weak, but not with respect to overt behaviors for in those forms norms of fashions and fads operate to define quickly either one's actual social status or the status one is pretending to possess. Thus while the street crowd influences people's overt behaviors, it cannot be allowed to thwart or obstruct personal objectives. That is why traffic rules and controls are needed in cities, to allow people to go about their own business without undue interference by the street crowd.

In a street crowd there is no organization; it is only potential. Habit and equilibrium seem to be predominantly char-

acteristic of this type of group. The social control is one of mood growing out of mere *rapprochement*, as in a street crowd watching soldiers depart for France, where the mood is one of exhilaration and fear; or a funeral crowd, with a mood of sorrow and respect; or a holiday crowd, with a mood of joy and abandon as in a Mardi Gras, or at Coney Island.

Street crowds in size range from a relatively few people to large populations. In the latter instance, primary contacts are replaced by secondary contacts but otherwise the qualities just described may all be found. Thus we may say that with respect to certain issues or problems or crises a group of people represents a street crowd in the sense that they are all going about their businesses quite unaware or unconcerned about the issues or problems. Thus until Pinchot published his report on "Giant Power in Pennsylvania" the people of that state represented a street crowd with respect to Giant Power. With respect to this problem of ownership and control of Giant Power is not the same generally true at the present time for our nation as a whole? Before the World War people throughout the world were in a street crowd condition concerning the onset of war. Only the few on the inside forebaw events and they were unable to change the street crowd into any other type. What are the problems and issues of our national life concerning which most of us are now in street crowds? By the time we get our own business attended to we have little time or energy left for discovering problems of general civic concern. That is one great reason for poor support of school systems, for political bankruptcy, and for the vogue of advertising or propaganda. The latter are deliberately manipulated technics of suggestion to get us out of our street crowd condition with reference to the goods to be bought or the ideas to be acquired.

In a street crowd there is then no concentration of attention either of persons or of the group as a whole. Therefore there is no leadership. Each one is his own leader. There is generally independent, pluralistic behavior.

## THIR. CROWDS

BUT WATCH what happens to that street crowd when an explosion occurs, or a fire breaks out, or two motor cars collide. One would think by their behavior that the people in the street crowd had no business to attend to. The immediate adjustments that people make to such crisis situations are expressed in movements of hurrying around this way and that to discover what the trouble is. There is then usually a period of milling, or circular movement, which is the initial phase of the emergence of a crowd as a collective adjustment to a collective crisis.

## SOCIAL MILLING

THIS social milling may be of short duration or long, limited to a few people, or involving large populations; it may be physical or ideological; it may end in itself (orgiastic) or lead to further evolution in collective adjustment (preparatory). Wherever there are conditions of social unrest there is social milling. Back of social milling there is always somewhere either a real or a faceted problem or crisis.

Thus in education today there is much unrest about educational objectives for the various levels of school curricula (ideological milling). What is the crisis? The challenge of the press in the arraignment of public schools as failing to prevent crime or to create honest effective citizens who will not tolerate corruption and mismanagement in government. Also the challenge of businessmen and industrialists when they say they can see little result from the schooling of their employees who must, therefore, be specially schooled when they get on the job. People are becoming more critical about schools and ask, "Why have schools?" and educational leaders are milling about trying to find answers. Mostly their answers have been excuses or rationalizations rather than conclusions supported by objective data. Some answers have expressed the heedless circular character, ending in movement and getting nowhere, as in the dialectics of educational philosophy that is busily telling us how to arrive when we do not yet know where we want to go. So we go

round and round, as we said at the close of the first chapter, confusing motion with direction, and mere activity with objectives—"Education is life," and similar shibboleths of the new schoolists who call themselves "progressive" so as to make themselves impressive. This is not to deny the significance or value of milling in collective adjustment. It is merely to warn the student to beware of milling that remains mere milling while claiming to be reaching out toward defined objectives. Many other instances of all types of milling may readily be found in the field of education.

In societal life physical millings that become ends in themselves are called organic behaviors, ceremonies, rituals, and the like. Such are represented by the three great American diseases: dollaritis—getting money and then more money for the sake of getting more money, though few suffering from this disease would readily admit such qualities (but one does not ask the victim of a disease to diagnose his malady); motoritis—driving a car for "fresh air and scenery" (this is the rationalization) when all the motorists get hours of monoxide gas and roadways lined with obacuring billboards (the truth is they go out to come back again as a futile effort to escape ennui of their city life, to free themselves from the psychic tensions of work or home life); and jazzitis—going round and round on the dance floors, just to go around. The seasonal movements of hoboes from country to city, and of the I. W. W. harvesters on the Pacific Coast are other examples of social millings as adjustments to economic crises on the level of physical activity.

But not all millings are huddles and continuous for some represent merely the period for discovery of the crisis, for its definition and programming of solution; they are thus periods of inhibition of institutional behavior preparatory to the initiation of new efforts in adjustments to new situations. Such is found in the great national milling previous to our entrance into the World War and some time afterward. Finally these social millings in search of the best solutions for the multitudes of minor crises that came out of the great crisis of participating in the European War eventuated in organized and deliberately directed movements of large

groups toward definite objectives—these as the best solutions of the crises, large or small. Thus armies finally moved to Europe, people worked in factories or in community service; the nations hummed with everybody's activity to "Win the War that will end war."

Or millings may take the form of ideational searching about for solutions of crises. There may be little or no physical movement as such; but the activity is circular as in debate or discussion, where the participants lead out from certain ideas or propositions and come back to them again and again.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF TRUE CROWDS

AFTER a period of milling there gradually develops a concentration of attention upon a particular aspect of the total situation which may be either the crisis itself or someone's statement of the crisis. Unless the crisis is quite obvious and readily discovered the attention will be centered upon him who by exceptional ability recognizes the character of the situation first, defines the crisis and proposes a solution. Such a person is a natural leader, as Jeremiah, Hosea, Jesus, Lincoln, Wilson, or Gandhi of modern India. The people direct their attention toward one point, namely, the leader—his definition of the situation, and his best solution of the crisis. If they agree with him, they then establish a common objective which contains his proposed program of solving the crisis.

The concentration of attention, the emergence of a natural leader, the definition of the situation and the establishment of a common objective are the organizational aspects of a true crowd in its adjustment to a crisis.

Now as a result of the shock of the crisis, suggestibility is tremendously heightened. This is reflected first in the milling condition, and second, in the ready acceptance of the natural leader. Emotional behavior predominates, so much of it becomes irrational. People do things under such conditions that surprise them in their cooler moments subsequently. There is a disappearance of the independent behavior so common to street crowds but an appearance of



recognition of the similarity of behavior of all the others involved in the situation. This awareness of similar behavior on the part of others serves to accentuate the behavior tendencies already established in the person's adjustment to the crisis. Thus the crowd develops a vicious circle of re-enforcement of its own qualities until it reveals a surprising unity and solidarity. Rapport quickly develops into *esprit de corps* because of the awareness of the collective crisis; they are all in the same boat—the solution for one is the solution for all. This group solidarity expresses itself in an intolerance of variation from the predominant behaviors or attitudes or ideas of the crowd. When the leader proposes, if one objects, the true crowd purifies itself by crying, "Throw him out!" or "No, No, Don't listen to him!" as actually happened when the New Jersey educator argued against prohibition in the meetings of the Department of Superintendence, in Detroit, 1931. Or, on the other hand, the objector, seeing how futile objection may be, quietly removes himself from the group. But sometimes, such removal is not possible, as in the army. ■ a soldier removes himself he is then a deserter. He is court-martialled and usually shot promptly in order to set up a counter-suggestion against the breakdown of morale.

This purification of the crowd because of its intolerance is one of the principal earmarks of the true crowd. Thus a crowd is always sectarian in that it will not compromise nor allow objection or the expression of a variant proposal or point of view.

Readily the students will see that again, crowds may number a few or millions of people. Dictatorships as in Italy or Russia are splendid examples of true crowds involving great national populations. A dogmatic father in a family, who wants ■ determine and run the lives of all in it, who will endure no argument or discussion, who demands immediate and implicit obedience creates a crowd of limited numbers. Fraternities, football teams, cliques, or school assemblies or mass meetings may be crowds. There are times when all of these different sizes of groups reveal the characteristics set forth above; they are then crowds.

Crowds may be dangerous because of their emotional ac-

centuation and their heightened suggestibility. Demagogues or false leaders may readily lead people astray in crowd situations. They may become anti-social and run amuck as K. K. K. persecutions, riots, lynchings and the like. The best prophylaxis against the dangers of true crowds and their intolerances to differences is to turn attention from the one center and break up the unitary character of the group. This can best be done by threatening personal safety. Too violent methods such as indiscriminate firing into the group and killing persons may disperse the crowd momentarily but accentuate the crime for which they were trying to work out a solution. But by turning on the fire hose or exploding tear bombs an anti-social crowd can be broken up without involving the same vengeance or retaliatory attitudes as in violent forms of coercion. To turn attention to each one's own safety and at the same time to make him ludicrous to others is probably a safer method. The British police in London have been famous for their ability to handle crowds that might become dangerously destructive by avoiding brutality and by keeping people laughing and in good humor. The increasing oppression of American police suggests either that our crises are becoming more acute, the defenders whom the police represent, more fearful, or else we are losing the wisdom of earlier years when we treated objectors and protesters with more kindness and good feeling.

The various organizations of the country that maintain blacklists of tabooed persons for speakers among whom are leading thinkers, philosophers, preachers, college presidents and professors, those designed to keep out aliens, or to further dogmatic religious, political, educational, or economic creeds are all examples of true crowds whose intolerances are threats to national welfare and insults to intelligence.

#### TYPES OF CROWDS—ACTION

OF THE types of crowds dominated by action the following are commonly found in school situations:

1. *Organic crowds* in which the physical expression is without progression outward toward a definite objective but circular milling about as in school dances, snake dances, and

parades after football victories. They are important in school life for they represent the spontaneous efforts of pupils to secure social catharsis, which is release from the tensions that develop in connection with the solution of school crises. They are technicals of maintaining personality health in a harmless way. Without them the tensions tend to produce disorganizing effects upon student personalities and anti-social forms of collective behavior. This, and not the usual effects claimed by theorists, is the chief function of recreation and physical education in both school and community life. With the increase of leisure that modern technological inventions provide, one outstanding problem of school administrators is to teach forms of play as pure orgiastic behavior that are possible after the school period and to work for the provision of public facilities to avoid the severe forms of commercial exploitation of people's efforts at social catharsis. The "merry-go-round" situation should not be disdained as beneath the attention of serious educators.

2. *Crowds of the true type* as previously analyzed. Such are school assemblies for worship or mass meetings for the creation of *esprit de corps* and morale preparatory to athletic contests, classes in which the teacher dominates practically entirely, lectures in colleges when there is no discussion.

3. *Mobs* are crowds in action moving toward definite goals. Such are represented by criminal gangs on the way to a robbery, strikers attacking an employer's factory, marchers protesting against unemployment—or in schools, the supporters of football teams going to the field of play, student strikes, or organized protests and the like. An army on the move is a mob. Thus it is seen that sociologically not all mobs are dangerous or anti-social. They may or may not be; that must be determined by the general effects and the societal evaluations. Nor are they just rioting groups of people as is commonly thought, for such types are to be classed as milling crowds or *stampedes* if the movement outward is greatly speeded up, as in a theater rush upon the cry of fire.

4. *Gangs, cliques, and secret societies* are crowds that resemble and develop tradition and organization. Such are athletic teams, fraternities, sororities, and cliques in schools

and colleges, clubs that develop spontaneously out of school life such as the "Duty Decen" dedicated to reprisals upon the principal, "The Kerner Klub" designed to control campus politics. In societies there are the criminal gangs, the youth predatory gangs, play gangs, "Molly McGuire's," "Blackhands," "K. K. K.'s," and similar groups.

3. *Sects* are characterized as crowds distinguished by their unwillingness to compromise. All the foregoing types may therefore be classified also as sects as their intolerances and exclusiveness are emphasized. They constantly tend to split up into smaller and smaller sections generally depending upon the length of their history. They may be artistic, religious, economic, political, recreational, familial, in short, groups in any or all of the dominant societal institutions.

Though not found in schools, the following should be noted in this connection:

*States* and *nation-states* are secular organized crowds for the maintenance of control of the people within the groups as well as of those outside who may be enemies.

By the same token, *armies* and *navies* or war groups are organized crowds, dominated by action, exclusive, intolerant, sectarian, and of maximum morale.

The evolution of these types is then from street crowds that face a crisis—whether a corridor group in a school or a great population—to milling crowds, under emergent natural leadership to intolerant true crowds, into mobs following the leader or general into action, sects, states, war—organizations, movements, and institutions of conflict. It is clear then that these human groupings are no better or worse than societal evaluations of the conflicts they carry on. In general, they will be approved by the effective majority involved in them and condemned by the opposing ineffective minority groups involved.

#### TYPES OF CROWDS—IDEAS

THE EVOLUTION of types of crowds dominated by ideas is similar to those dominated by action up to the crowd that assembles around a leader. At this point if intolerant and

sectarian attitudes appear the further development will occur as just described; but if on the other hand, tolerance and variation are allowed, a different evolution occurs.

Under the latter situation the temper of the crowd is not to do something about the crisis quickly as in a true crowd but to secure through exchange of ideas (discussion) the best possible definition of the crisis and the best suggestions for the solution of it. Out of the milling crowd seeking for just such outcomes arises not one leader but two or more who define and propose. This type of crowd is disposed to listen to all who seek a hearing.

Here not emotion but intellection is dominant. There is a give and take, an exchange of ideas that capture the crisis in symbolic expressions, deliberation, discussion that is more pointed, directed, and organized than the discussion characteristic of the mere milling stage in this evolution of groups.

(1) Such crowds are *parliamentary crowds* represented by legislative assemblies, campaign crowds, political conventions, educational and religious conventions, forums, class meetings, and the like.

(2) From these parliamentary crowds evolve *publics*. Around the variant leaders the people assemble themselves as listeners and followers. Each leader defines either the crisis or the solution or both somewhat differently and the assemblage occurs depending upon which leader says what the follower wants to hear by reason of predispositioned attitudes or by immediate conviction as in throwing one's allegiance to this or that candidate in a political campaign.

Now these groups of followers around leaders that differ are *publics* and the differences of definition and proposal are *issues*. *Public opinion* then is not just what people think generally nor mere editorial opinion but the opinions of specific existent publics. But what are opinions? Reasoned justifications for the attitudes held—rationalized attitudes—are opinions. Public opinion is then the opinions of publics organized around variant leaderships. What is commonly called "public opinion" might better be named *social opinion* or *social opinion*—the general body of unor-

ganized rationalizations supporting the complex of institutions in any community or nation.

There can never be one public; there must always be two or more. Furthermore, publics are not always existent; they come into being and disappear as does the self. They are the collectively organized aspects of societal consciousness, deliberate and more or less sophisticated. Without tolerances, there are no expressed differences; without expressed differences there are no variant leaderships, without variant leaderships there are no issues; without issues, no publics; without publics, no public opinions. When issues disappear, publics resolve themselves into true crowds. All of these types come and go in one form or another, last for longer or shorter periods of time, overlap with respect to one or another phase of the total national situation, and are participated in by people in all sorts of combinations. The facts in detail can be specified only upon investigational analysis.

A good analogy for purposes of better picturing the above differences between societal opinion and public opinion is the simple experiment with steel filings and a magnet and piece of paper. The chaotic mass of filings on the paper represents societal opinion; the organized arrangement of the filings under the influence of the positive and negative poles of the magnet represents publics and public opinions. This polarity is the earmark of public opinions; there are those "for" and those "against," and the difference between the "for" and the "against" is the issue.

(3) Publics which become permanently organized are parties, denominations, and languages whose existence depends upon their willingness to compromise and concede. They may be religious, or political, and so on, as in the case of sects, but are the antitheses of sects. They lead to peace, not war, and the organizations, movements, and institutions of social accommodation rather than conflict as is true of sects.

Shall we move toward war or peace? seems therefore to be determined by whether our milling is physical or ideological, and whether our crowds are tolerant or intolerant. These distinctions are not sharply scientific but broadly descriptive and suggestive of tendencies. Of one thing we

can be certain, there is no peace but an imposed one by a victor except through tolerance which makes accommodation and assimilation possible. The fundamental freedoms written into our Constitution by the founding fathers are essential to political evolution; when they are sacrificed, crowds, sects, war, and revolution are the only substitutes. Educators may well view with alarm any sinister trends in our national life that deny these fundamental freedoms. Without jealously protected minorities there will be no publics, no public opinions, and no evolution through exchange of ideas. The maintenance of free discussion is basic to social evolution as a method in contrast to social revolution. Stop the former and history shows the latter to be the inevitable result. Why then are educators generally conservative and on the side of the dominant and powerful vital-interest groups that threaten to stifle liberty in the United States? Is it because we fear the control of these groups over our jobs? Are we bludgeoned by success?

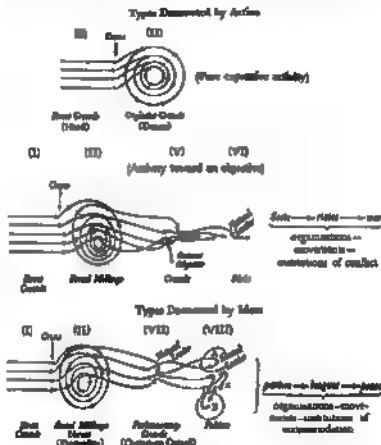
The maintenance of tolerances — racial, political, national, religious, economic, and the like would seem then to be one of the outstanding tasks of public schools — if, as is claimed, they are the bulwarks of democracy. It all simmers down to this: Shall we secure our necessary social adjustments by peaceful or warlike methods? If we advocate peaceful methods, tolerances are essential; if we advocate warlike methods, intolerances are necessary. Are we inclined to hear the other fellow or to insist dogmatically that we are right? This simple test reveals to any student of education his essential tendencies in this respect.

Figure 14 serves to contrast sharply the foregoing descriptions of the various principal types of collective behavior and evolutions of crowds and organizations.

#### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

COLLECTIVITIES may also be viewed as social movements when the groupings already described include large sections of a population. Among such mass movements are to be noted: seasonal and cyclical movements of people such as excursions, vacation migrations to national parks, travel to foreign coun-

tries and the like, seasonal labor as the fruit harvesters on the Pacific Coast, prize-fight and hatchett violences; *expansive movements* such as the swarming of people to take possession of new land opened up by the Federal Government



in Oklahoma, Oregon, and California; adventurous migrations such as the Klondike Rush or the Colonial invasion of North America in the seventeenth century; rural-urban migrations.



Conflict movements sometimes become widespread, involving not only local regions but at times far-distant parts of the world population. Among such may be noted military expeditions, labor unions, missionary activities, consumers' co-operation, co-operative marketing among farmers, crusades against the Turks, against liquor, against "Reds" and many other common "enemies," efforts to wipe out or to preserve foreign languages, Fundamentalism, and many, many more. Social epidemics sometimes develop and involve hordes of people as in the Dancing Manias of the Middle Ages, crazes such as stock market or other investment speculations, phobias from widespread contagious diseases little understood, as the Black Death, cholera, syctic hysteria, or the "Red Hysteria" that swept the United States in the close of the Great War.

Finally through the processes already fully described these groupings of people to carry on particular activities may result in the establishment of societal institutions and organizations which may also be classified as collective forms of behavior. Through such collectivization the efforts of people to solve their crises are stabilized, made concerted and permanent, and more effective than could be possible by mere personal expression.

### READINGS

Krueger and Rocklen, *Social Psychology*, Ch. 8 (Social Behavior Analyzed).

Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology*, Ch. 12 (The Crowd). Helpful in analysis of processes but not in defining the variant phenomena.

Park and Burgess, *Introduction*, Ch. 12 (Collective Behavior).

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*, Ch. 25 (The Crowd and Social Movements).

Bernard, L. L., *Social Psychology*, Chs. 28-32 (Contacts and Groups). Stresses the nature of contacts in development of various types of collective behavior.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do you not get social movements among preschool children? How do you account for the positive correlation be-

twelve age and size and group? Within what age limits is this true?

2. By what specific means does your school create rapport, *esprit de corps*, and morale? What effects do these have on teaching efficiency?

3. What essential differences are there between street crowds, true crowds, gangs, and mobs? Are they groups? Why?

4. Cite organic crowds in school and show what are their social functions.

5. In general do schools today tend to create action-crowds or idea-crowds? Give cases and give reasons.

6. Is America growing more or less tolerant? Why? What of it?

7. Why is discussion of higher educational value than debate?

#### EXERCISE

Analyze and graph behavior of students in college before and after a football game. The same for a debating contest. Contrast and classify types of crowds.

## CHAPTER XIV

### PUBLIC OPINIONS, PROPAGANDAS, DEMOCRACY

**P**ROBABLY there are few phrases more commonly employed by educators in the United States with less sound understanding than "Public Opinion," and "Democracy." They are high-sounding and impressive particularly in school assembly talks, educational convention addresses, and campaign orations. But how easily the best of us can be put to it by anyone's stubbornness in insisting on clear definitions. The confusions in the uses of these phrases in educational theory are due to the fact that generally their meanings and significances are assumed, as for example, in Bode, B. H. *Modern Educational Theories*. But if these educational leaders shirk the responsibility of definition, how can the ordinary citizen be expected to think clearly on such matters? Mr. Plain Man joins the educator in being quite sure what these words mean without taking the time or the trouble to precise them in any scientific way.

Public schools are established to create "an enlightened public opinion without which democracy cannot endure" — so runs the oft-asserted claim. But what is democracy and who knows just how to get and preserve that democracy whose definition we may agree upon? Meanwhile practical politics exploits its opportunities, frequently using these pregnant phrases as deceptions for personal aggrandizement or corrupt mismanagement. Never so much as today do educators need to scrutinize their own understandings of these phrases and their significant interrelationships in view of the new realities of psychology, sociology, economics, and political science.

But unfortunately most of the administrators in education are prepared for business management with a major background of outworn psychology, rabby philosophy, and much emphasis on statistics of buildings, costs, pupil accounting, taxes and the like. These are important as secondary features of school administration concerned with the business of getting there, but they have little to do with determining where we want to go. They concern the priestly, not the prophetic, functions of educational leadership.

What would happen to American education if we had one generation of principals and superintendents prepared not only in psychology and statistics but just as thoroughly in sociology, economics, and political science, and a philosophy really tough-minded? They would either be out of jobs replaced by "yes men" to the dominant interests, or American social life would suffer or enjoy a great upheaval—all depending upon one's point of view. But how long shall we continue to tolerate an inverted scheme of societal values that places property and profits before people and personality? How else can we interpret the poverty, misery, sickness, unemployment in a country rich in currency, credit, natural resources, and people? While in 1931 some money went begging for work at 1 and 2 per cent, 4 to 6 millions of people went begging for money, food, and work. What economic chaos, what political bankruptcy, what educational inadequacy is here! And yet contemplate, if you can, the complacency and unconcern with such problems of societal life as revealed in the reports of the educational conventions and associations.

#### MORES AND SOCIETAL OPINIONS

These complacencies are the results of the controls that mores have over people's behavior. The traditional activities of mores are supported by "reasons" why they are the "best" and, as noted before, frequently are mere rationalizations because of our preferences for the familiar and therefore the easy ways of doing things. The justifications that support the mores are the *societal opinions* which re-enforce traditional tendencies and strengthen the *status quo*.

in any community. But out of the general mass ■ societal opinions come the raw materials for the formation of public opinions, when the objector, protester, or reformer, claiming the rights expressed in the fundamental freedoms of speech, assembly, press, and teaching, challenges the validity of the historical justifications of dominant attitudes of carrying on and supporting, as they are, the prevalent activities of the mores. Under such challenges it becomes apparent that adequacy of the mores is relative to the amount of institutional lag they suffer from — in spite of the conservative who says, "After all, these ways have served us for a long time."

Thus some particular phase of community life is brought under criticism, e.g., industry, whose human welfare provisions lag behind technological improvements as shown in unemployment; or education, whose curriculum reflects contents of material not characteristic of modern life. In short, all social problems are evidences of moretic inadequacy.

Thus a sense of crisis is aroused and the people realize that "all's not well with the world," as they had supposed. These crises are formulated as "problems" and people, disturbed by inadequacies of old ways begin to mill about trying to get information, asking questions, expressing doubts, refusing to conform to the mores, protesting, revolting, discussing — all evidences of general social unrest within the area of social interaction affected by the problem. Against all such, inevitably stand those who express the historical attitudes and marshal the age-old reasons why the disturbers and doubters are wrong, dangerous, or misleading. Thus the societal opinions that may have lain dormant emerge during the period of milling, become vocalized and more precise than they were previously, even improved sometimes.

The period of milling following the discovery of a crisis in some phase of an institution is a period of heightened emotionalism and therefore of increased suggestibility. Shocks are felt by those who discover the crisis; shocks are felt by those who defend the old order not only because of the crisis itself but also because it is hard for them to realize why others are not so satisfied as they themselves are with traditional ways. The shocks of challenger and defender

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re-enforce one another and make clarity, fact, and sincerity difficult to achieve. At such times error runs rampant.

### REASON

Under the stresses characteristic of social milling about a crisis, error occurs for a number of reasons:

a. People observe wrongly because the facts in the case are unfamiliar to them and they are not skilled either in recognizing such data or in recording them, or because they see only what they want to see — wishful thinking — or because they are biased to the extent that they do not see the facts in the case at all, or see only some parts of a total situation.

b. If people do observe rightly they may have defective memories, so that mistakes creep in between the time of observation and the time of reporting to others — especially is this true in oral conversation. Today, unlike the primitive, we are not highly skilled in memory for we depend so commonly upon record: lacking record, the factors of time and the number of people through whom the report passed (man) are important conditioners of error.

c. Or again, granting correct observation, people may interpret wrongly the facts they gather. Their imagination, their expectancy, their stereotypes distort their judgments and handling of facts.

d. Glorification may operate to introduce error. Attitudes of assurance and certainty create the impression of accuracy and reliability which, if not checked up by other observers or reporters, frequently introduce errors.

e. Finally there occurs also deliberate falsification when by special handling of the facts they are made to tell the story that is deemed most useful for the persons telling it. This occurs not only in gossip and conversation but also in written report.\*

\* See in this connection the Interchurch World Movement Report on Public Opinion and The Social Study of 1919, 1921, pp. 132 ff.; and Lunell, H. D., *Propaganda Techniques in the World War 1917*.

## LEGENDS AND MYTHS

As a result of such possible sources of error happenings are recorded in ways that develop them into legends. Legends are erroneous accounts of events, frequently glorified to teach a lesson, point a moral, or enhance the prestige of the persons involved. Such are the legendary characters of history or the legends developed around national heroes.

Myths, on the other hand, have no basis of fact so far as actual events are concerned. They represent folk wishes, being glorified and elaborated accounts of what will happen because the people wish such things to come to pass. Examples are: myths of Nordic superiority; catastrophie myths expressing "Der Tag" of the Marxian socialists when the social order will be overturned and the proletariat shall rule; or millennial myths forecasting the appearance of a Messiah, as among the orthodox Jews ancient or modern, or the "Heaven" concept of various religious creeds; or the ritualistic myths which scapegoated Jews during the Middle Ages and provided the rationalizations for their persecutions by pogroms. The essential characteristic of error in all myths seems to be the fictitious nature of their goals. Out of these prevalent myths and legends develop beliefs and attitudes, practices and values that create a veritable miasma of error which people may accept as truth merely because of the mass of people accepting it or because of a hoary antiquity. But science and critical historical methods have recently made deep inroads into such errors.

## THE SCAPEGOAT

During periods of sharp crisis when people are seriously endangered and cannot quickly work their way through ■ a successful solution and when both the nature of the crisis and its solution are difficult to define, or under exploiting leaders, there develop "beast" myths. Somewhere one or more persons are responsible for the crisis and if a correct analysis cannot be made, some explanation is demanded by the nature of the situation; therefore someone is blamed, or scapegoated. But in order to punish the offender commensurately

with the nature of the offense the person is first made out to be a "beast." Examples of these processes are found in connection with lynchings of Negroes and of war propaganda, and sometimes the capture of criminals. Usually in such situations the one who is despised or hated is made the scapegoat, to pay the penalty demanded whether he is guilty or not. By such action people at least get release from the tensions developed by their fears or frustrated actions because of the crisis and can once more settle back into their usual concerns, with the feeling that the problem has been solved.

#### ERROR AND PUBLICS

MANIFESTLY publics are difficult to form in proportion as error occurs, emotionalism dominates, and intolerance rules. In such instances crowds form more readily for fiction in legends and myths, and reports are not conducive to tolerances, which are necessary, as noted in the last chapter, to the development of publics. This is not to say that publics are based merely on truth. Public opinions may be erroneous as well as societal opinions. But it is to say that a people educated to reject fictions for realistic goals, legends and myths for truths and realities, are more prone to discriminate between truth and error and more zealous in critical discussion, which helps to distinguish between the two. That is why scientific method enjoys the vogue it has in enlightened cultures.

During the period of milling, the technique of communication, through which the emergent societal opinions spread, must be kept free from censorship control if publics are to form. Thus if we believe public opinions are necessary to democracy or self-rule, as we may define it temporarily, it is important to ask who owns and operates the technique of communication and for what ends. The movies, the press, the radio, are not only constantly spreading societal opinions that support the prevalent mores, but in times of crisis they add to this function special services of reporting about the crisis. Thus the millings are tremendously expanded geographically because of the elimination of separative time



and space by the use of these modern agencies. The factor of mass thus enters in to accentuate the social processes and, if error is accepted, may even militate against the natural evolution of publics. The mere fact of report by agencies of apparent prestige accepted by great numbers of people enhances suggestibility and prevents criticism. This was true during war time and also in the period of prosperity that ended in 1929 and 1930. The final answer to any bold critic was, "Don't rock the boat."

Many thinkers are observing the efficiency of our techniques of communication both within and without our schools with no little alarm, wondering what the quick standardization of attitudes and stereotypes will do to "democracy." We may not know that, but it is quite apparent that high uniformities of judgments, attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and practices make the formation of publics difficult if not impossible. Difference is the breath of life to publics. If the unifying conditions increase we may expect to find fewer publics and more crowds, hysterical, organic, and mob; less public opinion and more intolerances. What is the responsibility of the schools in such a case?

#### PUBLICS AND LEADERSHIP

IF, INSTEAD of intolerances, a free give and take of societal opinions is allowed, parliamentary rather than true crowds develop. Leaders emerge and the variations of the societal opinions cause people to gravitate toward the different leaders who say what the different people are trying to say, only the leaders say it more clearly and promisingly. Such leaders are "natural" in that they are accepted as leaders because of their superior abilities to vocalize societal opinions and sharpen the differences among people of those opinions. Examples of natural leadership come readily to mind — diplomats who occupy front page news in the press, politicians, ward bosses, or "professional neighbors" (who are esteemed highly because as an act of generosity they bury the babies of the neighborhood who die on account of unfavorable environments which could have been eliminated by the city money grafted by the bosses), journalists, scheming

writers, critics, agitators, reformers, and, in the field of technology, scientists and inventors.

But there are also "elected leaders" who may be "natural" although many through the processes of practical politics secure positions of leadership without any marked demonstration of ability or prestige. Party conventions for the nomination of presidents not infrequently surprise the electorate with their selections of "dark horses," who under the conditions of party competition seem to have more chances than those who are prominent in leadership at the outset of campaigns. A recent example is that of the nomination and election of Warren Gamaliel Harding under the influence of the notorious Ohio Gang. Thus party loyalty may demand the election of lesser men than the natural leaders whom the people prefer. ■ such cases the citizen may well ask, "What vested-interest groups are grinding their axes by nominating surprise candidates?"

Whether the leader is "natural" as in the case of Lincoln, Wilson, or Smith, or "elected" as in the case of Johnson, Coolidge, or Cox, it devolves upon him as leader to define the crisis and the program for its solution. Since there are competing leaderships in a democratic government administered by competing parties, variant programs emerge, otherwise there would be little excuse for change of government. That such change is theoretically and practically considered necessary to allow for progressive changes in a democracy is shown by provision by law for the regular periodic elections. This is sound for it substitutes bloodless for bloody political revolutions; ballots for bullets; and offers the minority party, the "Outs," an opportunity to demonstrate whether or not they have secured a majority of supporters and are capable therefore of becoming the "Ins."

Thus political campaigns are deliberate methods of creating and organizing publics around the different platforms of the contending parties and their leaderships. Now at such times the techniques of communication must be kept free or certain groups will lack their chance to utter their variant solutions of national or local problems. So far the press and radio and movies have succeeded in reporting quite fairly the

campaign news of the dominant parties, Democrat, Republican, and Socialist (with the exception of some sections fearful of socialist radicalism); but minor extreme parties like the Communist have from time to time and in various communities suffered a loss of free expression through the regular channels. That is why labor groups wanted to establish the "Debs Broadcasting Station" and publish "Labor News." Even with such facilities groups might be limited in their hearing because the programs of the major radio stations would prove much more attractive so that more people would listen and contact with the major and more reputable parties rather than minority protest parties.

The large sums of money subscribed for political campaigns bear witness to the strategic importance of getting a candidate elected for the sake of returns later in appointments, higher tariffs, or the passage of favorable legislation or the removal of unfavorable laws. To utilize the normal channels of communication has become so costly that the advantage in a political campaign is clearly with the party with money to spend.

Thus there are many ways by which exploitive groups, if they desire, may manipulate the processes of democracy so as to defeat its objectives and instead of executives and legislators to represent the "numerical majority," we get leaders who really represent the special groups who constituted the "effective majority." Under such cases not democracy but sovietocracy obtains.

Other reasons why the traditional means of democracy may fail are numerous. For example, the leader may be of the demagogue type who sets up "mobocracy." This is not uncommon in city affairs though it seems less frequent in state and national politics. The Anglophobia campaigns of a Chicago mayor are a case in point. People have fears or hates which "blind-spot" them to certain phases of their community situation. The demagogue exploits such blind-spots. Or again, the false leader who has manipulated his pre-eminence through party organization may raise a diverting cry and drag a "red-herring" across the trail. In this way people become concerned not about the real crisis but

about bogus issues raised for the purpose of misleading the electorate. Such in the presidential election of 1929 may be considered the Prohibition question as contrasted to the great problem facing the nation: "Who shall control Giant Power?" Thus by blinding the people, or by diverting their attention, or by smoke-screening vital problems, leaders can confuse or deceive the electorate and deny the prerogative of democratic representation. For these reasons some writers have charged that American government is not democratic but plutocratic — controlled by the relatively few holders of most of the nation's wealth, people who represent the inner circle of financial power through interlocking directorates.

Over against these defects of our political democracy as found in the United States, due to "bad" leadership, may be set the tendency already seen in civil service and in the increasing demand by the electorate to get "natural" leaders as their representatives. Voters are demanding experts trained in technical and societal engineering, as in the city manager movement or in the demand for Hoover as an engineer. A difficulty still exists in the failure of people to realize that an expert is a specialist. Voters may choose wrong experts. We must not hold that an expert in one field is equally expert in another. Otherwise we expect too much of him; what he is not prepared to deliver. The popular hope in the famous "Ford Peace Ship" is a good illustration, or Wilson in Europe at the Treaty of Versailles, when he was no match for the diplomatic wits that dominated that occasion. When social, economic, and political sciences are more fully developed there will be greater hope than exists at present in procuring experts who really know the facts of community and group organizations, industry, banking, and government. Even then we may fail to secure the experts we want because of the manipulations already described or because of subversive propaganda. At least as an ideal goal for democracy we hold to this: Science in the service of man. But it will have to be gained by intelligent active co-operation of the citizenry, for it will not come of itself.

## THE BOOK

As ANALYZED in the previous chapter, the issue is the difference between the definitions of the crisis and the solutions which the competing leaders of parties offer to the electorate. Around the leaders form followships whose organization into parties constitutes publics. Thus Republican leaders organize Republican voters into one public, and Democratic leaders organize Democratic voters into another public, and Socialist leaders organize Socialistic voters into a third public, and so on throughout the roster of major and minor parties in any election. Each public distinguishes itself by issues which are the differences between its program and that of others. The publics arise from different universes of discourse and employ distinctive collective representations such as campaign songs, slogans, shibboleths, banners, photographs, cartoons, stereotypes and the like.

What happens then when bogus issues are raised or when the differences between parties are so small as to be regarded as insignificant. Thus one party may say, "High tariff," and the other, "Higher tariff." Such distinctions of Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum leave the intelligent voters discouraged, so it is little wonder that more recently less than fifty per cent of the possible voters actually exercise their franchise. When issues disappear politics becomes bankrupt, a condition which exists occasionally so far as the two old-line parties are concerned. Since Democrats are being campaigned by the same people who support Republicans the former seems to have surrendered their faith and hope for the "common people," and have taken a generally conservative direction. Republicans and Democrats are understanding each other too easily; they talk the same language essentially. The supposed differences during campaigns are really for election purposes. Now the Socialists on the other hand differ so radically that they create real issues and offer a hope of reviving our decadent parties and of saving us from a national crowd that kills our publics and exercises censorship, stops the mouths of our radical critics, and governs by injunctions and judge-made laws. Therefore, there seems

to be only one practical way out, if we do not want to turn to the Socialists. That is to secure a political realignment. It can be done by forming the traditional parties and forming a new Progressive Party and a new Conservative Party. Within the ranks of both major parties there are avowed conservatives and avowed progressives. A progressive Republican can better co-operate with a progressive Democrat than with his conservative Republican Party members. The Republican and the Democratic distinctions are disappearing but the conservative and the progressive distinctions are becoming more sharply defined each year; and they are real and functional. Let the leaders reorganise themselves along conservative and progressive lines with respect to tariff, control of industry, farm relief, ownership of giant power and the like, as well as social legislation, and politics in this country will soon reveal the vitality and fervor of earlier days. We shall have real issues to discuss because we shall have real problems with real differences. Otherwise increasing apathy is ahead until the situation gets so unendurable that more drastic methods of adjustment may be used.

The precising of differences by the leaders of the public clarifies the issues and enables people to adjust themselves more adequately to realities. Thus by constant adaptations to critical situations evolution is gained and in general the more violent forms of societal conflict or disorder are avoided.

#### PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinions are then the organization of opinions around divergent leaderships which seek for majority sanction through discussion and debate. The framers of the Constitution of the United States built soundly when, as a result of their own experiences under oppression in Europe, they defined for their new political group the fundamental principles of civil liberty as basic to democracy. They were jealous in the protection of minorities, for from them might come the new truths or new programs of needed social readjustments.

## SOCIAL TRENDS.

AND SUPPRESSION of these liberties of speech, assembly, press, and teaching makes the formation of public opinions impossible because that substitutes crowds and intolrances for publica and discussion. With a sculous preservation of the latter, shifting majorities compete for control, minorities develop into majorities and take the reins of government, and social changes are effected. But in the course of the political competitions and conflicts, those who are "in" tend to take on some of the objectives, values, ideals, and policies of the party of criticism. Thus since the days of William Jennings Bryan, the Republican Party has adopted practically every plank of Bryan's platform except his "16 to 1." It did this in order to capture the votes that would otherwise tend to be cast for the Democratic candidates. Likewise the Democrats have adopted planks which sound very much like Republican politico-economic theory in order to capture not only the floating votes of independants but also actual defections from the Republican ranks, as happened in the cases of Cleveland and Wilson. These movements and tendencies may be pictured as follows:

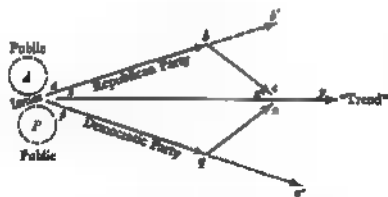


FIG. 15

## SOCIAL OR POLITICAL TREND

Out of publics *A* and *P* evolve permanent political groups known as Republican and Democratic Parties. Line *a . . . b*

and  $b'$  represents the direction a party takes if uncorrected; likewise  $p \rightarrow q$  and  $q'$ . The adoption of opponents' planks to capture votes and secure elections as indicated in the changed direction of divergent party programs as in lines  $b \rightarrow c$  and  $q \rightarrow r$ . This process prevents either party from going too far to the extreme right or left, radical or conservative. As a result there is a compromise direction which is technically called "trend" and is represented here by the line  $x \rightarrow x' \rightarrow y$ , a sort of resultant of the parallelogram of conflicting forces. At points  $b$  and  $q$  the distance between them represents issues real and clearly distinguished, though at that point the directions are toward extremes and criticisms are sharp and severe of the "Ins" by the "Outs." This could be illustrated by the period of Bryan's earlier candidacy. At point  $x'$ , however, so much stealing of enemy thunder to capture votes has occurred that there is little difference and therefore few real issues, if any. That is the situation at present so far as the two old-line parties are concerned. What will happen in the near future is impossible of prediction but there are signs indicating that since the Democrats have surrendered some of their fundamental contentions such as low tariff, government ownership, and other causes identified with the common people in contrast to the owning classes, the Republicans may be wise enough to take possession of vacated land. Already Republican leaders, business men, and leading international bankers are calling for radical reduction of tariff as a means of restoring world trade and domestic prosperity, so slowly does political practice catch up to the newer economic theory that favors free trade as the best assurance of permanent prosperity propounded for more than two decades. One real issue that remains for the revivifying of the Democratic-Republican conflicts and party salvation is the Power question: Who shall own and control Giant Power? It was expressed weakly in the 1920 presidential campaign but was smoke-screened by Prohibition and the religious controversy.

Now if the conservatives of both parties at points  $r$  and  $c$  would combine and the progressives would form a new party, then a new trend would be developed, something as follows:





## VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

STUDENTS may wonder why the "booster" about liberties. Just this: having grown up since the World War they do not realize what that unpleasantness did to the Constitutional guarantees of civil liberties. No democracy can wage war and not become a dictatorship. That is recognized by the Constitution in the provision which makes the president commander-in-chief of the army and navy. So far so good; but when the war is over, the retrenchments on liberties are defended and preserved by the powerful and conservative who have much to gain by suppression and much to lose by criticism and change. For example, before the War, federal law never made utterances a crime, however violent the words might be. But during the War the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the right of Congress to punish language by laying down the rule that in each case there must be "a clear and present danger" of an overt act following the utterance. Later courts have supported some states in punishing mere theories, beliefs, or memberships in organizations holding forbidden beliefs, even though no present danger like that of wartime practically exists. Intolerances of radical beliefs, blacklists of employees who are members of Communist, I W W, or even labor union groups, blacklists of speakers kept by the D A R., injunctions against labor strikes or labor organizing, discharge of teachers under pressure of American Legion groups, preventing of public assemblage as during the textile strike in Paterson, N. J., arresting pickets during strike, police lawlessness against disapproved groups as in New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Centralia, Washington, the denial of citizenship to war-objectors (Schwimmer, McIntosh, and Webb cases) are a few evidences of the trail of suppression as a heritage of the war.\* Each person must decide for himself what the liberties are worth. But it is clear that once the principle of free speech, for example, is changed to "free speech, but" (no license)

\* Ward, Henry L. "Suppression of Civil Liberties in the United States," *Proceedings of the A. S. S.*; and *Bulletins of the Civil Liberties Union*, 100 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

then anyone who disagrees may exploit the new principle for suppression. Once the bars are down it is hard to keep the cows from trampling down the corn. The danger is that bit by bit the liberties will be whittled away; then there will be no need of public opinions, or issues, for democracy will have given way to some other form of government. Manifestly, examples of extreme suppression of public and issues are better found in Italy and Russia today under their dictatorships than in the United States, though lovers of liberty here may not in this hour be down to sleep.

### NEWS

IN THE maintenance of issues, facts on the crisis or on proposed solutions are necessary, for in lieu of facts fiction will be used. Now facts or data on issues are news. Arthur McEwen of the Hearst papers said that news is anything that makes people say, "Cee whis." On that definition, Hearst built up his profitable chain of newspapers. Anything that is novel, bizarre, out of the ordinary is the usual conception of news. But the definition offered here is more scientific, for it explains why some parts of newspapers are not read by some people but suddenly become of great interest. Stock reports, weather records, sports may afford suggestive illustrations. Do we not read those parts that report data on whatever concerns us personally as crises or issues? Newspapers and the newer technique of communication, radio and movies, are significant agencies of public, the formation of public opinions, political parties, and democracy, or any other form of political or societal control.

### THE NEWS

NEWSPAPERS as carriers of news are constructive agencies if the news is reported fairly, promptly, and adequately. But can newspapers consistently achieve such ideals of service? First of all they are business enterprises run for profit to the owners and must therefore handle news with an eye to the yearly statement. This sometimes results in the suppression of news. Newspapers have "sacred cows," people who are large advertisers and must not be offended in the news col-

times or who are exempt from news reports. Other examples are railways, traction companies, public utilities, property Most newspapers would shut down quite promptly if they depended for their financial success upon subscription or street sales. It is the advertising that makes them financially profitable; earnings from this source run from 50 to 90 per cent. And the power to advertise widely is the power to exploit either for good or ill. News is carried to sell the advertising; therefore the news is used to build up a reputation which will increase sales to send up the desirability of the newspaper as an advertising medium. There is always the danger of suppressed news leaking out, through a rival newspaper, which tends to reduce suppression. The financial aspects of the press tend to prostitute journalism, as Upton Sinclair has charged in his *Brew Check*, especially in view of the alliances between the press and commerce, the press and politics, politics and government, and politics and industry. Critics charge the press generally with being subservient to capitalist interests as against politico-economic minority and protest groups. Newspapers, even if not "house organs," are frequently partisan to a pressure group. Best practice allows partisanship in the editorial columns, but aims to keep it out of the news columns. While this is the ethic, it is not always practiced, for the form of writing the report, the stereotypes, pictures, symbols, and rhetoric may bias the reader. By distributing emphasis, newspapers give perspective in which current events are seen by readers. Sometimes newspapers will print only one side of a controversial issue or a conflict situation, which does not aid in the formation of public opinions. Newspapers are not above errors though it is considered an ethic to publish a correction, but sometimes the corrections are published too long after the damage is done, or published insignificantly on an inside column, whereas the original report was "front-page stuff."

Much news is gathered and transmitted by commercial newsgathering agencies that operate all over the world. Distance, time, the observer, the reporter, the situation, modes of transmission are all factors in the producing of truthful or

erroneous news items. Generally speaking the severer and more extensive the crisis or the issue about which news is transmitted, the greater the danger of error creeping in. The newer methods of transmission provide increased accuracy but they do not eliminate the bias of the observer or his report of the event signalized by the news. Better practice at this point supports the signing of newspaper articles, particularly in foreign correspondence, for then the reader can study his reporter and discount biases or prejudices. Finally, the newspaper must be ready by the time the presses have to start for regular delivery. The haste and hurry this creates makes at times for error. However, the bulk of our population read not great city newspapers, but those of Middletowns where incomes of professional journalism are not high. Such papers are kept up by the news-gathering agencies and a few reporters to collect local data.

In general the newspaper reflects the life of a community and will be neither better nor worse than the people who buy it. Efforts to improve by obtaining scandal and crime met with loud protests from the readers of one North Carolina newspaper. Newspapers and to some extent news seem to obey Grotham's Law: the inferior currency tends to drive out the superior whenever they are in direct competition. Newspapers are powerful engines of social control; they are the modern large community, secondary-contact substitutes for the intimate primary-contact neighborhood oral gossip. Even the largest newspapers have columns frankly devoted to gossip about the élite, sports, financial matters, and even important forthcoming events.

While newspapers are significant agencies for the formation of public opinions, their pre-eminence is being lessened by the new services of radio and movies. Yet news is not of itself public opinions though some public opinions have news value. Nor should editorial opinions be identified with public opinions, though sometimes editorial opinions coming from persons of great prestige may be imitated and become in time characteristic opinions of certain publics.

Consider how the press, radio, and movies not only transmit facts or data but also in the reporting of the data in-

cultivate attitudes, arouse emotions, and suggest opinions. They are educative agencies probably more powerful than schools for they are fresh, continuous throughout adult life as well as childhood, representative of vital concerns of people, sensitive to social approval, dramatic, humorous, tragic as life itself. Contrast the power of suggestion of a newspaper changed in form and matter every day with the school text; or compare with classes the radio hour of advertising slipped in with entertainment or classical music or jazz; or balance the news reels to fill in feature programs of movies with school assembly meetings.

#### THE TABLOID

UNDER the congested conditions of city life, there has grown up a new type of newspaper called the *tabloid*. It is small, compact, and easily handled in contrast to the blanket size of standard newspapers. As such it is a distinct practical improvement. But many new problems are reflected in it. The limitations of space compel the rewrite man to cut to the bone. A resort to a generous use of graphics has been made — cartoons, photographs, many of them synthetically composed without visitation of actual scenes. It is practically impossible to present to the readers of the tabloids documentary materials from which they may form their own judgments, a service that makes extremely valuable such papers as *The New York Times*. These conditions accentuate the possibility of error and of exploiting propagandist technique.

It is not the business of newspapers to print the truth; their function is to *signalize* events, to announce that something exciting has happened. When the event is investigated, it is science, not news. So newspapers print what people want to hear. In these circumstances newspapers inevitably exploit the bogies, myths, symbols, stereotypes, the societal opinions to make their accounts appealing and exciting. Otherwise they will not be read extensively.

■ reading a newspaper, one should keep in mind the following questions:

- (1) What reporter or correspondent secured the story?
- (2) What press service released it? (3) What newspaper

printed it? (4) Are the reporter, press service, and newspaper reliable? (5) Did the reporter or correspondent witness the event or is he reporting what someone else saw? (6) Through how many hands has the information passed? (7) Where was the dispatch filed? (8) What was the authority given for statements found in the dispatch? ■ Is it reliable? (9) Is the report signed? (10) Was the report secured under censorship or from a publicity agent? (11) Does the report contain any traces of subversive propaganda? (12) Has the report been colored by stereotypes of reporter, editor, or rewrite man? (13) Has it been colored by any special patterns imposed by codes upon the imagination of the reporter or writer? (14) Has it been colored to meet the approval of any special interests or to conform to newspaper policy?

Few Americans stop to ask such questions for in their ignorance of how news is gathered and presented they little realize the need of raising questions about what they read. "I see by the morning paper," seems to settle the matter for most people. This ready and unquestioning acceptance of print reminds one of the Chinese reverence for written characters. The net result is that most people accept their ideas and attitudes ready-made from these modern agencies of communication. This receptivity is scored by Graham Wallas\*: "The passive reading of many newspapers and newspaper placards, and of a much smaller number of magazines and books is a disquieting trend. The newspaper is taking to a large extent the place of conversation, and often copies the discontinuity and familiarity of conversation without securing that which is its essential value as an intellectual instrument, the stimulus of one mind by free association with another in the process of following up a train of ideas."

Their receptivity makes people gullible; their gullibility makes them amenable to propaganda. Under high-power salesmanship our nation is "sold" on almost anything the newspapers or propagandists wish to put over. So badly are we over-sold by advertising since the development of the "partial payment plan" that we have not money enough to

pay tomorrow for all the goods we have bought on installment.

#### HOW CAN NEWSPAPERS BE IMPROVED?

There are bright as well as dark sides to the press situation in the United States. The sale of *The New York World* in 1931 ■ dark; but the purchase of it by *The Telegram* of the Scripps-Howard chain is bright, for that chain represents one of the finest efforts to preserve the best of earlier journalism and to provide improvements in harmony with modern changes, at the same time maintaining in its editorial columns a rôle of courageous critic and defender of human rights as against vested-interest exploitation.

But how can newspapers be made to serve better community and national needs? Robert E. Park <sup>a</sup> contends there is little hope. "What then is the remedy for the existing condition of the newspapers? There is no remedy. Humanly speaking, the present newspapers are about as good as they can be. If the newspapers are to be improved, it will come through the education of the people and the organization of political information and intelligence. As Mr Lippman well says, 'The number of social phenomena which are now recorded is small, the instruments of analysis are very crude, and the concepts often vague and uncriticized.' We must improve our records and that is a serious task. But first of all we must learn to look at political and social life objectively and cease to think of it wholly in moral terms. ■ that case we shall have less news but better newspapers."

For the domination of journalism by financial concerns E. A. Ross <sup>†</sup> advocates drastic control: "Thus it happens that, although the social mission of the newspaper was never so widely recognized as now, although nearly forty schools and courses of journalism have been established within fifteen years, the clandestine prostitution of the newspaper ■ the business interests has never been so general. With the proportion ■ receipts from advertising creeping up each year, the newspaper is coming to be an advertising circular carry-

<sup>a</sup> "The Natural History of the Newspaper," *American Journal of Sociology*, 29, 273 ff., 1923.

<sup>†</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, p. 485.



ing reading matter, rather than a news medium carrying advertising. The situation will get worse until society treats the newspaper as a public utility in need of regulation and restricts its rôle as a seller of publicity (propaganda). If newspapers were not allowed to derive more than a modest proportion of their total income from advertising, they would cost us more but they would tell more truth."

Journalists themselves look to the precision and improvement in professional ethics, but many of them are not hopeful. The better editors and the enlightened owners, like the elder Pulitzer of *The New York World*, are pace-setters for a desirable press; but *The World* is no more!

Some have suggested endowed newspapers, preferably publicly owned, so that they may be free from the necessity of profits. Others have urged co-operative ownership, already illustrated in the weekly journal of critical opinion, the *Nation*, and in the weekly magazine of news and articles on social work, *The Survey* and *The Survey Graphic*. The employers of *The World* made a brave effort to effect co-operative ownership at the time of its sale, but failed.

The forum might be a good antidote to a decadent press and to passive reading but it has not enjoyed the organized extension that its early stages promised.

Probably the greatest hope lies in the improvement of people's knowledge about men and affairs and a better understanding of the social, economic, and political processes that characterize modern societies throughout the world. This implies more reading of books for in them are found the results of deliberation and investigation impossible for newspapers. Because the average citizen is poorly informed in the social sciences and in cultures of the various peoples of the world he is a victim of all the winds of propaganda. Says Ross,\* " . . . It seems idle to expect newspaper men ever to develop such a professional solidarity as to present an unbroken front to the exactions of their masters. If the commercial newspaper rises to the high function committed to it in modern society, the cause will not be so much the substitution of high ideals for low ideals in the minds

\* Op. cit. pp. 42-5.

of the newspaper makers and publishers as the ability of the reading public to discriminate sharply between the bad newspaper and the good newspaper and their willingness to give the latter the support it deserves."

All of which raises the question: What is the teaching of efficiency in reading worth in our public schools when measured merely by quantitative standards of speed and accuracy? Such results guarantee us a population able to read effectively but not what they read nor what they do with what they read. The achievement of quality tests in reading to supplement the quantity measures are much needed next steps. The former are derivable from evidences of civic uses of reading.

#### RADIO

DR. ROBERT A. MILLMAN, President of the National Council on Radio Education, 1931, in a memorable broadcast introduced by President Hoover, contended in his address on "The Past and Future of Radio" that the fear of exploitation of radio by the demagogue is groundless, because the power of the demagogic leader, the magnetism of his personality which he exploits through personal appearances before his constituency, is absent in radio. Now we know that suggestibility is heightened in large mass meetings, political, religious, educational and the like, and that under such conditions emotion rather than intellect tends to dominate. Radio auditors listening in at their homes are not subjected to this mass conditioning except as they may be influenced by the fact of a nation-wide hook-up. But the reading of newspapers represents no essentially different situation and they have not reduced the power of a demagogue. The effects on the listeners are determined, generally as in the newspaper reports of the speeches of demagogues, by the attitudes of followship toward the demagogic leader and by the knowledge of his wide following listening in, or reading his speeches. Mostly such speeches, when they are broadcast, are widely advertised beforehand and are broadcast from the mass meetings, so the personal magnetism can operate through the enthusiasms of the crowd in attendance upon

the radio auditors to accommodate their suggestibility to him, given high prestige of the speaker in the first instance.

Can education create an intelligent control of radio through the censorship of the dial?

Moreover the losses through radio may be compensated for by appearances in talking pictures that present the personality and his message. Research is necessary into these matters.

#### WHAT IS PROPAGANDA?

News is not necessarily propaganda. It may be mere information; a plain, clear statement of facts about events or persons. Material published merely to inform is publicity. But frequently what is called publicity is really propaganda. Especially publicity that is really "publicity" is that, whether it includes the "pull direct" or the "pull collusive," or both. Says *Editor and Publisher* of April 28, 1931, "The exploitation of the press by publicity men and their employers . . . has become well nigh unendurable. Flowing over every copy desk in the country, every day, is a turgid stream of deceitful, cowardly, side-stepping, puffing, camouflaging, faking, propaganda, representative of almost every conceivable interest, a high percentage of which is designed to cheat the advertising columns or make the editors stand before readers with opinions not their own."

The United States Census Report is about the best illustration of pure publicity. Without any manipulation of the data, the facts are offered to citizens who may care to read and use them. Readers may handle them in such ways as to turn them into propaganda; but in the reports the data are mere information.

But when news or any published or broadcast materials are specially handled in order to convince or to instill certain beliefs or attitudes or to create specifically desired stereotypes or arouse particular sentiments, then it is propaganda.

Following are some earmarks of propaganda whether in newspapers, movies, radio, sermons, lectures, texts, or any means of communication:

- (1) Certain purposes are expected or implied. The writer

wants you to do something or to feel as he does, as in an advertisement to buy a hat or a motor car.

(2) Only one side of the story is presented by the copy-writer. The material is so organized as not to offer the disadvantages but only the advantages. It is therefore partisan.

(3) Repetition is common. This is an exploitation of the principles of suggestibility as already noted. It effects a mild form of hypnosis. But under some situations the repetition may not be carried too far, else fatigue of the reader may destroy his sensitivity to the material. Other things being equal evening papers and Sunday papers are better media of propaganda than daily morning papers because in the evenings people are tired and more suggestible, and on Sundays they relax and are more suggestible.

(4) The recurrent words or phrases are commonly accepted stereotypes. That is, they are the chief symbols of a universe of discourse and represent collective positive or negative values.

(5) Linkage is universally employed in propaganda. Linkage is the connecting of the thing to be "sold" to some positive value already generally accepted, such as placing a motor car in front of a fine house or a country club or having famous people sign endorsements; or *per contra*, associating the person or idea which is to be condemned with some value already commonly regarded as negative or taboo. Thus in some of the propaganda against the Child Labor Amendment those who were supporting it were dubbed "Reds" or "Bolsheviks" or "paid by the Russian Government." The principle here is: link your new idea or goods or attitude to something already approved if you want it accepted; link it with something disapproved commonly if you want it rejected.

#### IS PROPAGANDA "BAD"?

Whether propaganda is "bad" or not depends upon what it is used for. When it is designed to exploit others to the advantage of the propagandist then we may well call it subversive. Its aim is not general welfare but personal gain. In some propaganda like advertising one might contend that

there is general gain in that people learn all goods they might need or want of which they would be otherwise ignorant. The harmful aspect is that under modern capitalism, responsive to the demands of the profits of industry chiefly, people buy what they cannot afford. The problem is a complex one and cannot adequately be discussed here.

Constructive propaganda is devoted to human welfare and the major gain of others, as in health "publicity" which is really propaganda. Propaganda of social agencies like the National Child Welfare Association, Consumers League, National Playground and Recreation Association, National Tuberculosis Association will readily afford examples of the constructive types.

Schools are propagandist agencies in that they definitely and deliberately aim at inculcating attitudes, beliefs, opinions, skills, and judgments which are approved by communities. But in some forms of school education through the method of discussion or the presentation of the pros and cons, allowing pupils to form their own judgments, propaganda gives way to publicity whose aim is to inform.

Probably under modern conditions of communication, propaganda in one form or another is so widespread that one might argue that many of the best results of school education are offset by subversive propaganda outside of schools. In fact if one had time enough, and money enough, he could probably sell a population almost anything he wants. This is shown by war propaganda (see George Creel, *How We Sold the War in America*) and the huge amounts spent on national and even international advertising. (Incidentally it is interesting to note that in 1931 one tobacco corporation budgeted \$5,000,000 for advertising and that the advertising companies were probably the only great concerns that did not suffer seriously from the economic depression that began in 1929.)

Why, then, should schools not meet subversive propaganda with constructive propaganda and attack the problem of social control more effectively? Some educators say, "Never indoctrinate." But on the contents well established and agreed upon by experts, why waste time? Why not in-

culcate as quickly and effectively as possible? Why should pupils discuss the pros and cons of vaccination against smallpox? Would it not be better so to indoctrinate them with the importance of this method of prevention of disease that they would conform and so reduce dangers of epidemics? It might be urged that the doctors do not agree. At any rate, if that be true, doctors and not ignorant pupils are the ones to discuss. If the experts are not agreed then there may be some question about the material as part of school content. And why argue that  $2$  and  $2$  make  $4$ ? Let us then clearly distinguish our school contents as those upon which there is general agreement and use the best propaganda methods for inculcation. If educational experts consider those upon which there is little agreement worthy of inclusion in the curriculum, let such materials be presented with discussion and the presentation of pros and cons, allowing the student to come to his own conclusion. Such would be the social sciences. By so doing there would be more time left for the social sciences in the school curriculum. And more time is greatly needed, first, because the materials of social sciences are complex and difficult to understand; second, the problems are not clearly defined and the methods of investigation and solution are in need of improvement and refinement. If educators still want pupils to discuss for the fun of it, so be it, but that cannot be considered here. Some educators will still maintain that arguments about mathematics, art, literature, translation of classics, geography, history and the like is the best method of teaching them. On this we need proof. Even if we had it, the question of relative needs of teaching these subjects as against the social sciences would still remain unanswered.

#### SCHOOLS AND SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA

CONSTANT and tremendous pressure is today being exerted by certain groups upon public school authorities to use schools as agencies of propaganda. "Sell the youngsters and you sell adults," seems to be their slogan. Patriotic societies, religious groups, food-paste manufacturers and other commercial interests, health agencies—everyone with something

to sell, some of worth and some not—apply to school officials for the “good of the children.” School administrators need to be alive to these pressures and to develop sharply defined ethics on the question, if they are effectively to resist such pressure groups. Our national “weeks” are becoming so numerous that conscientious teachers begin to wonder how to get through their regular schedule. Under present conditions, perhaps it is just as well, but the problem is a real one.

One of the most sinister forms of propaganda in schools is found in history textbooks. In an effort to make history lively and dramatically appealing, the text writers have abdicated their rôle of historians. They have stressed explanation of events rather than accuracy of chronicle, which is sociology. Sociologists might make something of this introduction of sociology into the grades but the results are neither acceptable history nor sociology but propaganda. The outcome can best be evaluated by pupils' knowledge of the real facts of history and by the attitudes that are favorable to human welfare, peace, and co-operation as against individualism, war, and antisocialities. How commonly is social history crowded out by war accounts and the inspiring struggles of national leaders against personal weakness turned into legends of heroic glorification.

The influence of pressure groups on school boards and through them upon administrators in many communities makes it impossible for progressive teachers to hold their positions. Again and again they either leave or lose their contracts because they are not sufficiently conservative. In one community a man may be radical economically or politically provided he is conservative religiously, or vice versa. Under such conditions what has become of academic freedom?

Manifestly the rights of academic freedom should be more strenuously defended as one goes up the levels of education. It is not for children in the grades to become concerned about controversial issues, though even at such levels there should be instilled above all else tolerances of all kinds. But in high schools and colleges academic freedom must be ranked

in a democracy with the other liberties of speech, assemblage, and press, and defended accordingly.

Sociologically, propaganda of the subversive kind is dangerous because of its creation of social problems; propaganda of the constructive kind is significant because all forms of propaganda tend to create credulism, dogmatism, intolerance of the new, and to destroy public and bring about re-emergence of crowd situations.

**WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT PROPAGANDA?**

Use constructive propaganda to offset subversive propaganda.

Be sure, first, that you have evidence of the constructive character of your propaganda.

Be sure, secondly, that the propaganda you attempt to offset is subversive.

To determine what propaganda is subversive ask yourself questions such as the following:

(1) Who is responsible for the materials? (2) Why are they presented to you? (3) Are there any evidences in the materials of biases, prejudices, blindspots, and the like? (4) Are both sides presented or are some facts or materials suppressed? (5) Are there highly colored words for emphasis and how are they employed? (6) Is there repetition of stereotypes and symbols that arouse your sentiments? (7) Is the appeal to your emotions more than to your intellect? (8) Is there exploitation of a social situation that involves a crisis? (9) In the linkage, are the negative values truly representative of the whole community or only of special groups? (10) Were the materials censored or private? (11) Who gains most by the success of the propaganda?

What is the best prophylaxis against propaganda? The answer is brief: the best possible knowledge of propaganda, its methods and objectives and its exploiters. Demand the truth (even though it may be difficult to determine) and learn to distinguish between rumor or fiction, and fact.

Should pupils in public schools be made wise about propaganda? At what ages? In what courses? By what particular methods can that best be achieved?



## SCHOOL PUBLICITY

It is important that school administrators carry on a continuous well-planned program of publicity in order to keep the community informed. When special campaigns are set up for increased taxes for school improvements, and the like, the citizens are more amenable and more readily co-operate. Evidence of this is found in the fact that cities that have the most progressive and effective public schools, like Cleveland, Detroit, and Seattle, have well-organized publicity programs.

While it is primarily the task of the principals and superintendents to maintain publicity, teachers are important parts of any effective system. They can contribute by sending in to the publicity specialist anecdotes, reports, cases of failures and achievements which may be released at the most opportune time. Where specialists are not available teachers who like to write may take the responsibility. But all educators should know what has news value and what are the characteristics of good newspaper copy. Following are suggestions secured from various sources:

(A) Get the facts: 1. Be accurate. 2. Present both sides of a question in reporting. 3. Do not distort the truth by over-emphasis. 4. Verify names, addresses, figures, dates, and details. 5. Know your field—community, people, customs. 6. Know your subject. 7. Do not inject your own bias. 8. Write nothing that would injure a reputation.

(B) Think of your readers: 1. Write for specific people. 2. Adapt material to their understanding—remember their stereotypes. 3. Do not laigue them. 4. Be concrete and specific. 5. Pick out materials that they can relate to themselves. 6. Create the crisis for them in presenting the data. Show the need for whatever you present; but do not propagandize. 7. Use word illustrations which the readers can picture. 8. Exploit prestige by using for illustrations or by mention of people whom they admire. 9. Put yourself in place of the readers, remembering they will read hurriedly. 10. Put yourself in the place of a person quoted; are you fair to him? If it is a lengthy quotation and not verbatim submit it for au-

thor's approval before releasing it. 11. Write, first, to win your co-workers; second, your constituency; and, third, less interested persons.

(C) Write your best: 1. Answer such questions as what, when, why, how, where at the beginning of your article. 2. Write a summary lead. 3. Put important facts first. 4. The first six words are most important. 5. Put least important points last. The end may be cut by editors to fit a column. 6. Make each paragraph a unit with one important idea at the start in a topic sentence. 7. Use concrete illustrations. 8. Use a good photograph if practicable. 9. Choose the right words—picturesque nouns and adjectives (the fewer adjectives the better) and active, motion verbs. 10. Eliminate every unnecessary word. 11. Have short paragraphs, about 75 words as a maximum. 12. Vary sentence length, and make it readable. 13. Avoid trite words, phrases, and slang. 14. Choose words that appeal to several senses. Let your reader hear, see, feel in imagination the situations you present.

(D) Present your manuscript: 1. Make it attractive to editor by neat form. 2. End each page with a completed sentence or paragraph. 3. Number each page in upper right hand corner. 4. Put name and abbreviated title in upper left hand corner of each page. 5. Leave one-third of first page clear at top for editorial captions. 6. Punctuate well. 7. Submit neatly typewritten copy. 8. Put the number of words contained in the article in the upper right hand corner of the first page.

(E) Make the article timely by choosing strategic moments for release.

(F) Play up the local factors.

(G) Use harmless humor freely, though never at the expense of anyone.

If the contributor does these things the editor will be pleased to receive such material and will usually show a fine spirit of co-operation. Remember that school news is always good copy if it is set up properly because people are interested in the doings of their children.

## SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLICITY

Those responsible for publicity should study the area within which the publicity is released to discover what are the dominant attitudes and values, the various types of groups and their relative prestige, the leaders—those who are key persons of power and prestige\*—and the strategic points of attack by linking up with the dominant concerns that change constantly. They should also keep in mind: the discussion of public and issues so that the materials published will help to define crises and solutions, the relations of the materials published to the crises and the issues, the principles of suggestion and suggestibility and of fatigue of attention. Finally they should study the various channels of communication available in their area.

## THE PUBLICITY PROGRAM

THE PUBLICITY program of a school system should be continuous throughout the year. It should be carefully prepared a long time in advance so that materials can be collected, the objectives crystallized into general purposes for the year and specific aims for certain seasons, weeks, or days. A checklist should be prepared with a calendar so that a complete schedule of events is set up.

A few principles are helpful: attract attention; hold attention long enough to get materials over, create an attitude for immediate or later action, subject methods and results to constant and severe criticism; be honest and sincere.

The channels of publicity are numerous. There are printed materials such as books, annual reports, pamphlets, bulletins, house organs such as the school paper or literary magazine, fliers and circulars, posters, diagrams, cartoons and charts, magazine and journal articles, bulletin boards, letter-heads, mailing lists for letters, circular letters and "follow-up" letters, service letters of information, advertising paid or unpaid, newspapers, magazines, billboards and store windows, feature and news articles in newspapers, telegrams,

\* Dependent upon factors of age, length of residence in the community, previous official experience, extent of membership in clubs and organizations.

postcards, blotters, slips and the like. For oral publicity one may use speeches in clubs, theaters, shops, factories, churches, debates in clubs, forums and assemblies or special meetings, lectures, special classes, mass meetings, conferences, radio broadcasting, movies of lecture events, visits and interviews with key people, demonstrations and exhibits, and gossip. Miscellaneous forms of publicity readily come to mind, such as dramatics, special games, pageants, parades, and use of community occasions such as holidays, memorials, national "weeks," and the like.

Exhibits are complicated and expensive and should therefore be used only on special occasions such as following a survey which has turned up many facts that the people should know. There are various kinds: window exhibits of fixed or moving types with reflectoscope and automatic slides, moving models or displays and living demonstrations (Remember you have just about six seconds in which to catch attention in a window exhibit); special exhibits of different departments and their achievements; traveling exhibits of trains, trucks, motor cars (especially necessary in rural districts); and community exhibits wherein all the various subjects and all the methods are combined to portray graphically the findings of a community survey and the rôle and needs of the school system in the community.

If a large exhibit is set up the following suggestions are important: Plan thoroughly; organize extensively to bring in as many people as possible; portray simply on a level with the eye; have plenty of charts; schedule and rotate special stunts and demonstrations to avoid duplication; use trained explainers; follow-up for action or legislation as needed.

By publicity facts are spread, people are made to talk, and the materials for the formation of attitudes and opinions disseminated. They are conducive to the formation of public and to social decision on the crises reported upon in the publicity.

#### **FORMING OPINIONS AND LAWS**

NOT ONLY do people commonly have defective notions of public opinion but also of the relation of public opinion to

law and vice versa. Some fallacies are: that public opinion inevitably registers itself in law (Which public? Majority or minority? And under what precise conditions?); that public opinion naturally causes the repeal of obsolete laws on the statute books (How account, then, for the digging up of the Riot Act passed in Revolutionary times in certain New Jersey communities during labor strikes?); or that people will have only as much law as public opinion demands (Is public opinion meant here, or editorial opinion, or societal opinion?).

Earlier in this book it has been pointed out that institutions may in their evolution become precisised in laws or charters; but does this always happen? The rôle of invention of a leader was also discussed in relation to institutional changes. It is true that institutions depend upon opinions but these are not necessarily public nor are they always embodied in law. Moreover it is true that institutions and laws may sometimes be changed relatively suddenly and permanently by leaders, as in the reforms in Russia by Peter the Great and more recently by Lenin and Stalin, or in Japan by Imperial edict. In our own country Lincoln altered the institution of slavery by proclamation and Wilson, during the World War participation by the United States, led effecting changes quickly that reformers had spent lifetimes in securing.

Law may fail to represent public opinion as shown by crying needs for legislative reform or by unenforced statutes.

On the other hand, public opinion may fail to register in law as when an amendment demanded and voted by the people through "initiative" or passed through regular assemblies has been declared unconstitutional by higher courts that reflect attitudes of special groups. Review in this connection the history of the Minimum Hour Law of Oregon.

A. V. Dixey in his *Law and Public Opinion* proposes three reasons why laws are not always and everywhere the result of public opinion: there may be no opinion with regard to the change of a law; the opinion that does direct the law may not be public; there is lack of a legislative organ adapted to carrying out changes of law demanded by public opinion.

Again it has been said that men are guided in enacting

legislation not by opinion but by interest as in the case of the Soldiers' Bonus. But really this represents conflict of opinions, for some legislators who were personally against it officially voted for it.

Opinion may operate by forbidding the enactment of laws or by compelling their enactment. It has already been mentioned that Alfred E. Smith, while Governor of New York, went on the air to his constituency to tell them that the Republican Assembly would not carry out the mandates of the previous election. As a result, during the next few days letters, telegrams, telephone calls poured into Albany not only from minority Democrats but also many Republicans. The Assembly promptly passed the legislation planned.

Laws once enacted may create opinions in favor of them, though opinions were traditionally opposed, as in the case of the Espionage Act of wartime.

Laws enacted under the control of definite public opinion may be negated by administrators of government as in the Volstead Act which so far has failed of enforcement.

Repressive laws throttle a minority which makes law lag behind needed changes as recognized by public opinions at least of the minority.

There is no positive correlation between changes in law and public opinions for sometimes laws change rapidly but opinions slowly, and sometimes opinions change rapidly and laws slowly. It all depends on societal conditions of crisis, leadership, organization and the like. But legislation is sooner or later weakened by counter-currents of opinions.

Not is there uniformity or homogeneity of the principles or policies expressed by various public opinions in the statute laws. Some of these that stand on our books are clearly antithetical: freedom and the danger of license from freedom unrestricted; nationalism and internationalism; state control and regulation by Federal Government and States Rights; state ownership and individualism in business and property; exploitation of natural resources and conservation of natural resources. In other words, the total body of law in this country, local, state, and federal is very much of a hodge-podge reflecting the shifts and changes of

government by conflicting parties throughout our history. It could not be otherwise under party government and with our present ineffective methods of passing legislation or of repealing outworn laws or of codifying statutes.

Much legislation is really made by judges through their interpretations and decisions which then are taken as precedents by the legal profession. Especially is this true of the justices of supreme courts. Judges sometimes make public opinion by their prestige in writing decisions and are sometimes influenced by public opinions. The latter is reflected in the varying decisions of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and by judges in condemning criminals. The Mooney-Billings case of California and the Sacco-Vanzetti trial in Massachusetts are further illustrations. In New York City under war influence judges decided against certain teachers supposed to be of radical tendencies and later decided in their favor.

Thus both laws and public opinions are in constant flux and condition one another in all sorts of ways. Chaffee in his *Freedom of Speech* offers many illustrations of these relationships.

In a democracy, where publics are desired and cultivated, law may be deemed the stabilizing element though it is not an unmixed good, while public opinion may be thought of as the disturbing element that effects changes though it too may not always be an unmixed good because of the chances of its exploitation through modern methods of propaganda. The best an intelligent citizen can do is to become aware of these matters, informed on facts and events, and alive to the necessities of constant and active participation in civic enterprises. However, such an ethic is much more readily formulated than achieved practically.

#### PUBLIC OPINIONS AND DEMOCRACY

As hinted before in this chapter, democracy as commonly extolled is full of historical fallacies. Is the age-old cry of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality" true? Considering the mass of laws and other mechanisms of societal control how can man call himself free? Considering the frequency of

war, riots, strikes, lynchings, lustreds, antipathies and the like, is he fraternal? In view of the results of tests of skills and mental abilities, is he equal? It seems as though this slogan has served its day; it is hardly acceptable now at ■ face value.

From it came, however, some of our fundamental notions of democracy, fallacies though they are. For example sovereignty rests in the hands of all the people. All people enjoy the franchise. One man is as capable of governing as another. Men act on facts rather than feelings. The voter possesses all the facts necessary to cast intelligent votes. The art of government is an instinct, a natural endowment. All people exert ■ equal influence in the creation of public opinion. Public opinion when free is reliable. Elections express public opinion. Public schools create enlightened public opinion. There is some omnipotence which rules the destinies of people. Righteousness and wisdom well up spontaneously out of the masses. In short, according to the democratic ideal, one man is as capable as another and is able to exert as much influence in government and in the creation of public opinion as another. It assumes that men can obtain facts on which to base decisions and that collective decision arrived at by "Yes" and "No" of millions is representative of the majority opinions. But how can a man possess facts about an unseen environment when facts of his immediate environment are colored and distorted by his own experience, his attitudes, beliefs, and stereotypes, not to mention those that are imposed upon him in a multitude of ways?

#### WHAT DOES DEMOCRACY MEAN?

WE HAVE lost today much of our certainty as to the meaning of democracy. Strictly it means the rule of the people; but of all the people, or ■ just some of them? If of some, then of whom? In these United States one can find instances of all kinds of rule: plutocracy, or the control of the government by wealthy interests; oligarchy, or the rule of a few well-organized people ■ during the Harding administration; sovietocracy, or lobby rule; aristocracy as in Colonial days when the best had to be chosen because they could not quickly



get the opinions of their constituents; democracy as today when through quick means of communication constituencies effectively make their opinions known to their representatives, monarchy as the ward boss of great cities; autocracy—dictatorship, as in war times—Lincoln and Wilson.

We are driven, then, to a definition of democracy as the power to overthrow rulers through elections without the necessity of violent or bloody revolutions and the setting up of new or different governments as we are able. And this occurs sufficiently often in city, state, or federal governments to warrant our practical definition. We recognize that in the course of practical politics the best men are not always elected and the channels of control are some obvious, some subtle, some frank, and some indirect, devious, or sinister. But the greatest defect of democracy is our worship of it and the loss of the experimental attitude toward it.

#### PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

MANIFESTLY if we wish to have democracy serviceable to the majority we must keep our conceptions of it in tune with great changes in knowledge of human nature, societal processes and technological inventions. We must rid our minds of the notion that democracy means speaking out in meeting according to the practice of New England town meetings, for our communities have grown so large, the areas of human mobility so vast, relationships so complex that the simple devices no longer suffice. That is one set of reasons for the misgovernment, corruption, graft, and dishonesty that so often raise their ugly heads in all kinds of government in the United States. Is it not true that officials represent vested interests more often than people generally, that facts of governmental maladministration are slow to appear and are concealed in every possible way; that government by injunction has increased; that there is a growing indifference to politics and the use of the franchise; that class-conscious groups are engaged in threatening strife for the control of government by direct and indirect methods; that the general current indicates a fundamental unsatisfactory condition

of life; that the ordinary man is indifferent to securing facts essential to intelligent voting or cannot secure them because of the difficulties of doing so; or that he blindly accepts the contents of the press or other agencies that commonly exploit him with special propaganda; that he achieves little opinion for himself and that that represents no high degree of knowledge or enlightenment; that he is increasingly skeptical of the value of effort directed to the ends of common welfare through political means?

Where can civic idealism be found unassailed by special interests? In what social groups: the family, the club? In what religious groups? Among what business organizations: American Civic Federation, Rotary Clubs, banks, oil companies? Among what industrial groups: miners, farmers, railwaymen? Among what professionals: lawyers, doctors, teachers, judges, army officers, ward bosses? Among what political parties: Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Communists? Is the present indifference of some and the pessimism of others a passing phase or a continuing attitude? What is the way out?

#### THE WAY OUT FOR DEMOCRACY

It is a large order to attempt to suggest solutions for the different forms of failure of democracy in our modern complex civilization. But a few suggestions may be helpful at least in student discussion.

First, and foremost, organize efforts of all sorts to eliminate intolerances and prejudices. Unless we regain a ready willingness to hear the other fellow appreciatively in the hope that he may reveal some wisdom, there is no hope for democracy however it may be defined.

Second, cultivate the old-fashioned devotion to the fundamental liberties written in the Constitution even in the exclusion of the "But." If our democratic arrangements cannot endure criticism nor withstand the winds of variant doctrine they are frail indeed and in that case possibly not worth defense.

Third, cultivate public life and remove suppressions or censorship.

Fourth, increase and disseminate knowledge of social sciences and the workings of the means of communication, especially propaganda and the agencies of press, movies, radio.

Fifth, increase the use of experts with representative (?) citizens merely to check up on experts. Here Civic Clubs run and supported by citizens themselves employing their own experts to check up on governmental experts and to see to it that pertinent data on prevalent crises or issues in a readable form are put into the hands of the members of the clubs have proved effective in a number of enlightened and progressive communities.

Intelligence Bureaus for citizens, legislators, and politicians are necessary. There exist now but mostly for lobbies in our governmental circles.

Sixth, reorganize the basis of our representation from one of territory to one of functional groups. The former is artificial and unnatural, the latter factual and realistic. Lobbies are the inevitable answer to the unreality of territorial representation. Why not take them in and make them the units of governmental participation? Members of assemblies will represent then not a section of population marked off by artificial boundaries of voting precincts — an amazingly naive retention of village life — but functional groups in the community. In view of the close relation between maintenance, politics, government, and justice, the groups should be representative of the run of groups of communities. Some would represent labor unions, others recreation associations, others professions, others families, others industries, business and finance, and so on. There would be many difficulties in such reorganization but not so much in technical matters as in attitudes of resistance to changes.

Seventh, create more newspapers like the *United States Daily*, that are information sources, not entertainers or exploiters. (See earlier proposals for improvements of the newspaper problems.)

Eighth, publicly owned movies and radio. These are too powerful and so potentially dangerous to allow private ownership. Their alliance must be shifted from financial in-

terests to people's welfare; the profit motive must be removed from these, both for the sake of democratic control and for artistic achievement. Probably television should be included here.

Ninth, simplification and codification of law.

Tenth, improvements in educational contents—social studies and social sciences, economics, political science, sociology, history as *history*, and ethics; improvements in methods of teaching (a) so as to allow more time where it is needed and (b) to make students critically-minded on societal data and (c) to organize emotional complexes around human values rather than property values.

Obviously this is not an adequate treatise on the problems touched upon in this chapter but enough has been offered, perhaps, to indicate the need for further study along such lines if our educators are to be serviceable in the production of enlightened public opinion to support a changeful democracy.

Slogans, war cries, and shibboleths of political parties are substituted for cold analysis and evaluation of data. They constitute the societal analogues of the private pictures in our heads which, by virtue of the dramatic qualities of personal experience, limit the possibilities of critical and creative control in the so-called democracy by representation. Feelings mean more than facts, phrases than deeds. Such is the stuff of democracy operating under the present party system. Can we educate to independent voting or even to functional voting?

The discussion has mainly concerned itself with the relations of public opinions and propagandas to political democracy. But the same concepts and analyses of societal processes may be applied to other forms of democracy. Space forbids treatment of the problems of securing industrial democracy without which, in the long run, political democracy rests on insecure foundations. But it is important for students to recognize that there are as many different democracies as there are societal institutions: family democracy, religion democracy, educational democracy, democracy in art, recreation, or transportation. In some institutions much

advance has been achieved; on others our practice and ideals lag far behind our knowledge.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the author's distinction between societal opinion and public opinion sound?

2. What precise learnings are you effecting which are good prophylaxis against error?

3. In collective adjustment to a group crisis what is the function of the leader? Is this true in a classroom?

4. What are some of the dominant issues in education today and what are the publics?

5. Some educators assert that teachers should never indoctrinate. In what ways do you agree or disagree?

6. How can educators prevent vested interests from exploiting schools as propaganda agencies?

7. Of what use is the material on pp. 354-357 to you as an educator in preparation? As a citizen?

**EXERCISES**

1. Make a graph with text explanation of one educational trend, indicating the public, the issues, the composers, and the resultant "trend" or "new trends."
2. Draw up as completely as possible a program of school publicity, citing agencies, policies, time schedule, general content, and means.
3. Write a school publicity article for your local paper, having in mind the sociological principles for good publicity and the rules for good press copy. Take the material from your classroom experience.

## CHAPTER XV

### GROUPS AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

**I**N ANY educational situation there are many forms of groups ranging from those of two persons, teacher and pupil, in the huge conventions of national educational associations. Not only do they vary according to mass or number but also according to form, processes of interaction, organizations, and functions. There are class groups, corridor groups, play groups, teams — athletic, debating, oratorical and the like, meetings, clubs, assemblies, institutes, associations and the like.

Outside of educational circles there are groups distinctive of all different kinds of institutions, relations, territories: family groups, ship crews, army battalions, friendship groups, neighborhood or community groups, recreational, religious, political, professional, occupational groups. One could list for any community, urban or rural, hundreds or thousands of groups.

Man is born in groups and lives and dies in groups. Exile or isolate him from groups and he withers and passes away. Then he is like a plant torn up by its roots and left exposed to the open sun.

#### TYPES OF GROUPS

FUNDAMENTALLY there are natural and intentional groups. Natural groups are those into which people are born as a family, church, political party, neighborhood, and community. Intentional groups are those in which people hold voluntary memberships. Then there are coercion groups in which members are compelled to live such as prison, criminal

gang, school, draft army, family, or occupation. Sometimes intentional groups become coercive when members are not allowed to withdraw as from criminal gangs under the criminal code or school groups within the compulsory education limits or occupational groups that one cannot leave for fear of starvation or nationality groups that compel inclusion and membership. Rare is the person who wishes to be the man without a country. Natural groups may take on for members an intentional character as when a child chooses to remain with a family when tempted to run away. Some intentional groups grow into natural groups—a mating pair that become parents—or even coercion groups—parents liable by law for actions of children; some intentional groups grow out of natural groups, new families from old, sects and splits from established groups as in religions, political parties. Thus all sorts of natural-history relations may be found between these natural, intentional, or coercion groups.

There are amorphous groups and organized groups. Amorphous groups are those chaotic kinds without order or leadership, as street crowds or corridor groups. Organized groups are those whose relations between members are defined, precised, and stabilized under a hierarchy of authority and leadership. But more of this later. Examples readily come to mind: the newly married couple with husband or wife as "boss," the chess recreation, the football team, the dramatic society, the Boy Scout troop, an army corps, a factory group.

Groups may be *ephemeral* or *permanent*. The ephemeral are temporary, occasional, fortuitous such as street crowds or riots; the permanent may reveal varying degrees of stability and continuity from cliques and friendship groups to nationality.

*Primary* groups and *secondary* groups have already been defined in connection with "contact."

There are also *single-interest* groups and *multiple-purpose* groups. The former have a single objective which is pursued consistently and continuously; the latter have a variety of purposes sought for in many different ways. Strictly speaking, there are probably very few of the former; but the term



as used in sociological literature refers to such groups as the American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, banks, Progressive Education Association, Debating Society and the like. Multiple-purpose groups are illustrated by assemblies, classes, friendship groups, communities and the like.

Groups may be classified, too, according to the major social processes involved. Thus clubs, classes, canteens, denominations, leagues are accommodation groups while debating societies, football teams, labor unions, armies are conflict groups.

It follows then that groups may be classified and differentiated in terms of a number of factors and that they will vary in their characteristics according to the details of these factors: mode of selection of membership, or conditions of formation; time the group lasts; character of the contact; structure as revealed in relations of members; purpose or objectives to be achieved by and through the group; and processes which the group involves.

The classification of groups may be made from the point of view of the members, personally or collectively or from the point of view of the group and other groups. The results of comparison and the possibilities of classification vary with the point of view of analysis and description. Thus a high school youth desires above all else to join the football team. He succeeds but after playing several seasons he grows stale and decides to withdraw but the criticisms of his schoolmates, the snubbing by his "girl-friend," and other pressures make it impossible for him to resign. Thus from the point of view of the school as a whole, the football team is an intentional group, but in time it has become for one member at least a coercion group. It is only intentional so long as members are in it because they wish to be.

A football team is then an intentional, organized, primary, permanent, vital-interest, conflict group. A class in Arithmetic, third grade, is a compulsion, organized, permanent, primary, multiple-purpose, accommodation group. Thus each and every group that can be specified in an educational situation can be characterized and classified, according to the categories defined and illustrated in the foregoing.

## THE FORMATION OF GROUPS

THE ORDINARY mode of explaining the formation of groups is to say that people are brought together into groups because of "common interests." Even Albion W. Small, the former dean of American sociologists, in his *General Sociology* makes this explanation of group formation basic to his sociological theory.

There are, however, two reasons why this explanation is unsatisfactory. First, as noted in an earlier chapter, the term "interest" is too vague in itself, for it is employed at times to mean "motive" and again to mean "objective." Manifestly our explanation of why people join groups or form groups should be in terms of motive for as we insisted before motives are the social forces and all behavior ■ energy expression. This does not mean that the objectives, purposes, or values sought for or avoided are not parts of the total situation in group formation; they are the explicit phases of societal phenomena. Nevertheless in the interest of scientific clarity the motives should be differentiated ■ analysis from the purposes, ends, or objectives of behavior. Realistically motives and ends are parts of a whole; analytically they are separable. Does Small then mean motives or objectives by his use of "interest"? Clearly the latter, for he specifies the fundamental interests that account for societal phenomena and so group formation as "health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty and rightness." People want to secure these ends so they form or join groups. But as ends are not social forces we reject his explanation.

Secondly, we reject the explanation of "common interest" because the "common" interest is more assumption than proved fact. A moment's consideration will reveal the truth that people enter groups, maintain their memberships in groups, or form groups for a variety of reasons. As noted earlier, no explanation of behavior can be particularistic or singularistic but it must be complex and pluralistic. The simple phrase "common interest" does not take adequate account ■ multiplicity of motives in group membership or formation, not only on the part of many people involved but

even in any one person. The only "common interest" discoverable is, then, the group itself as a tool of personal or collective adjustment, but this again identifies "interest" with the concept of end or value rather than with motive. It places the reason of group formation in the group rather than where it must be—in the people who belong to the group. Diverse, un-common interests would be a better statement than common interests; so we can only reject both parts of the phrase.

How then explain group formation? By utilizing our earlier formulation of social forces and behavior motivation. We need not remind the student that we have already rejected the psychological explanation of a social instinct as an accurate account of group formation, for no one has discovered such a thing, but has only assumed it. Therefore, we say that people enter into established groups, remain in groups, create or form groups to satisfy *their* wishes. The group is a value, a tool, a device, by which persons through collective interactions can secure satisfactions in the specific wishes they may have at the time.

To explain group formation in terms of wish-satisfactions gives due consideration to motives, the subjective aspect of behavior, to group as a tool, which is the objective aspect of behavior and allows variety and multiplicity of motive. It meets the objections to the phrase "common interest" and is more precise and realistic. The group as a tool of wish-satisfaction is a complex thing allowing many uses, depending upon its nature and its members who would exploit it. Just as a carpenter may use a hatchet to pound nails, to trim boards, to cut off pieces of wood; the householder may use a hatchet for these purposes and also to decapitate a chicken, trim trees, cut sod, and the like, so a group is utilized by the different members in different times for the satisfaction of many specific wishes. (See Figure 17.)

For example in normal school one student enters a course to meet the requirements (wish for security) for a certain number of points, another to become acquainted with the instructor (wish for personal response), another for general cultural improvement (wish for dominance), another to



enjoy the lectures which are reported as especially stimulating (wish for new experience). Sometimes membership in a class will promise satisfactions of several of these types of wishes or all of them. Any exceptionally good course will certainly do the latter. Students have been known to register because friends or even potential mates were registered in the same course (personal response) or to achieve a mastery of special professional techniques (dominance). But the main point here is that they enter for various reasons, not for one common wish-satisfaction. Moreover these general types of wishes as suggested here for illustrative purposes really take more definite, precise, and varied form than the statements offered above would indicate. The students in the course, however, all use, whatever their personal wishes, the course as a tool of satisfying them.

#### WHAT IS A GROUP?

A group is not just any number of people indiscriminately considered, nor should it be confused, as pointed out previously with mere statistical classifications of people such as aviators, artists, financiers, children between ages of 3 and 11 years, high school pupils of the United States, and the like. Sociologically, people are a group when and only when they are definitely joined by a nexus of mutual influencing through social interaction. This definition is important in view of the fact that the "group" concept is basic in sociology.

Moreover, the group concept is becoming increasingly significant in political and social engineering today as we increase our knowledge of human nature and social processes. See how vital-interest groups adjust themselves to political necessities by virtue of the failure of territorial representation in government. As organized groups they set up their own lobbies which are special functioning groups to influence legislators and thus secure the representation in legislative halls that territorial representation fails to provide. Or consider the use of groups in teaching in our schools and colleges. With the increase of our population, it is impossible to educate our young people by the mere tutorial method because of the tremendous expense involved. So

we gather children, youths, and adults into groups to teach them more economically—yes, and effectively, for recent studies have shown that learning in groups accentuates the processes and increases the achievements because of the pace-making factor the group provides. Individualistic study at home under extension contacts or through correspondence courses has not proved to be a satisfactory substitute for the group class method of instruction. The suggestions that come laterally from other students and the mass situation are absent, so learning is more laborious.

To run trains, we organize groups of train crews; to run factories, groups of workers; to carry on religious worship, groups of believers; to reproduce our kind, family groups, hospital groups, nursery groups; to bury our kind, funeral groups. Those who effect any sort of leadership in education or in other institutions must have some knowledge of groups and exploit the group formations, whether that knowledge be rule-of-thumb information, common-sense wisdom, or scientific mastery.

#### GROUP VALUES AND PUBLIC PERSONALITY

A few propositions briefly set forth may guide the educator not only in a better understanding of the rôle of groups in relation to personality but effect more intelligent manipulation of groups for the purposes set up.

First: *Group values emerge from group experience.* As customs develop into institutions and societal opinions are clarified and precised through general understanding or through formulation into laws, the group comes to possess a definite set of values, positive (totems) or negative (taboos). It organizes its efforts around the pursuit or maintenance of the former and the avoidance or elimination of the latter. Correlative with these values are, of course, attitudes. Some people have thought that great social systems of values like the Mosaic Code have come by fiat from a divine source, but historians have shown that they have evolved from previous experiences of peoples. Thus before the Mosaic Code is the Code of Hammurabi; before the ethics of Confucius a long line of political philosophers and ethicists; before the Teach-

ings of Jesus, Amos, Hosea, Second Isaiah, and the teachers of the Talmudic schools of Jerusalem. Societal values, however they may change or vary or remain constant, are products of time and social processes; achievements frequently of bitter experience.

Second: *Group practices are conditioned by group values and attitudes.* This proposition has been discussed in detail under previous sections on inspirations, culture, and societal pressures. It is the basic fact of societal control and accounts for adjustment or maladjustment of personalities in groups. In other words, the present and future forms of human behavior, because of record and other processes of culture continuity, grow definitely out of established norms and supporting attitudes.

Third: *Groups impose their attitudes and values on members.* This, too, was discussed before under "preferences for the familiar" ways of doing things and "group expectations," and under personality development in relation to the directions of societal pressures. To appreciate keenly the significance of this proposition the teacher need only recall the task it is to regiment a number of children into class organization and the demands of the school system for examination results. In fact, in a community, the function of the teacher is particularly and especially that of imposing these values and attitudes which the community considers it important to have transmitted and will not trust to incidental, pick-up, or non-school learnings. Fraternity initiations, receptions, assemblies, special faculty meetings, rehearsals, football or other athletic team practices, study rooms, as well as regular classes are school techniques of doing this very thing.

Fourth: *Values and attitudes of different groups always diverge more or less.* That is why and when groups split off and become differentiated; otherwise there would be no excuse for separate and distinct groups. In a community, however, no matter how many specific values or attitudes may differ as between groups there is always a number of them that will be homogeneous to all groups. In the class groups of various courses in a school, each course will represent some values and attitudes identically and each will present

different values and attitudes. This common core of values and attitudes in both community groups and course groups is the sociological basis for consideration ■ more closely integrating or interrelating the parts of the curriculum. The different attitudes and values of the various courses ■ the reason for departments and specializations. Thus Mathematics, Music, Literature, History, Gymnasium, Social Studies reveal common values and attitudes as regards spelling correctly, forms of speech and writing, the uses of words and their meanings, in short, English. This makes English basic ■ the curriculum. On the other hand, a student goes to a Mathematics class and assimilates one set of technical values and attitudes—numbers and their functions—then into music—notes and vocal expressions or instrumental renditions, then into English Literature and studies style and thought of language forms, plot and the like—then into the History of Colonial America where he gets dates of battles, names of leaders, places and events—then into gymnasium classes for muscular movements of fixed types to be produced ■ prescribed ways—then into social studies where questions may be raised about many of the attitudes and values secured in the other class groups under the control of other teachers.

So too in the community, the family, church, school groups may be much alike or very different. A child of an Italian Catholic family finds in church and in the parochial school much that ■ identical. But a child of a churchless family meets one set of values in school, another in church, another at home. While there are greater variations for the latter child than for the Italian, the latter still finds some differences in each separate group in which he participates. Still greater are the divergences between such groups and play gangs, or predatory gangs.

By listing the values and attitudes, positive and negative, for each group to be studied, comparisons of items can be made and compared and degrees and kinds of differences precised. A norm can be derived either from a total composite of values or attitudes or from the homogeneous core. The former type of norm is not so good for statistical analyses but it may give a better picture of the total situation. Or the



modal tendency may be taken as a norm as is common in attitude tests today. By either method indexes of divergence for each group against the norm can then be secured. Thus each group in a school should be so analyzed and indexed as fundamental knowledge of both teachers and administrators—as fundamental as data on intelligence and achievement. In policy-making administrators need an index community groups, else they can hardly precise the work of schools in the interests of pupil adjustment to community groups. Present failure to do this or have it done by sociological experts in research bureaus is one reason for present school failure in effecting better post-school adjustments.

Coupling propositions three and four, we can see that personal values and attitudes may be indexed against the complex of values and attitudes of any specific group. This would give us a true socialization index. The nearest thing to this now available is a proper interpretation of intelligence test results.

Fifth: *The same person may belong to groups of varying degrees of divergence in attitudes and values.* This means that values and attitudes that have been adjusted or accommodated to one another by sectarian division and isolation, are brought together again in the assimilation of groups' values and attitudes by such variant membership. A member of a church finds in that group perhaps that drinking intoxicating liquor is a negative value. At the Golf Club it may be a positive value and if he refuses to play the "sun-tan-teenth hole," the round of drinks at the end of the game, he loses status and is not considered a "regular fellow." We have persons who refuse liquor in one group and accept it in another. They have adapted themselves to the values of each group in turn in order to secure effectively the wish-satisfactions that each group offered. Where the societal situation is extensive, contacts secondary, and the gossip areas isolated, this effects adequate personal adjustment. But in more intimate, primary contact, gossip-area situations the gossip reports of behavior in one group are told to the other group and the status of the person in the second jeopardized. Children commonly recognize in an elementary way the

significance of the divergences, so that an understanding frequently exists not to "sell" teacher, or parents, or others who might threaten their social status in school, family, or church. Dual norms in such situations or even multiple norms are inevitable.

Sixth: *Membership in groups of divergent attitudes and values may constitute major factors in personality organization and unity or disunity and mental conflict.* What is the boy to do when his mother condemns swearing and the gang demands it? Some people accept such variant memberships and suffer from persistent mental conflict; others develop multiple personalities and behave in each group as expected; others reject groups too highly divergent from those essential to pursuit of a life-purpose or dominant wish and select those for membership which are sufficiently homogeneous in values and attitudes to present no severe forms of conflict. Religious conversion that remains permanent is a sudden relinquishing of memberships highly divergent for those groups more nearly alike. The "peace" that ensues comes from a simplified and unified environment, though it is commonly explained in quite other terms than the foregoing.

Which methods are the best as determined by objective and scientific evaluations? We do not know, for generally our evaluations of these different types of adjustments to divergent group loyalties are traditionally "moral." If the groups are too homogeneous, we get personalities too (?) highly unified, if too divergent, personalities too (?) complex. Two valid norms, now available, though still somewhat vague, are: first, mental conflict and personality disorganization, and second, maladjustment and antisocial behavior. We can begin then with the personal and social failures; by studying them and the effects of groups of specific divergence indexes upon them, we can gradually build up meanings for our indexes and interpretations for the worths of type adjustments and personalities in type group and community situations. This is a rich field for research in educational sociology.

## GROUP PROCESSES RESULT IN GROUP STRUCTURES

IN THE discussions of social interactions, it was pointed out that inevitably the adjustments that people make to one another establish relations between them. The relations are not necessarily fixed, or permanent; in fact, they are always more or less in flux, changing with varying degrees of rapidity and revealing varying amounts of overtone. One cannot investigate processes that form groups very long before one is confronted with the fact that, at any particular moment, certain members of a group always reveal any one of three types of status or relations: equality, mastery, or subordination. A subsequent photograph of the same group, a moment later or a year later, may disclose quite a change of status for particular persons. Thus those who were equal may have shifted into positions of superordination or subordination; those who were followers may have become leaders; and some of those who enjoyed the privileges of mastery may have become submissive.

It is apparent, then, that analyses of the dynamics of groups—processes, interactions, or trends through time—not only can but must be supplemented by analyses of the cross-sectional, static, or structural aspects of groups, if the descriptions of "social phenomena" are to be representative of realities. The *time* factor is significant for the study and measurement of group phenomena and their functions, somewhat as it is in research in the natural sciences. But so too is the *form* factor. Just as anatomy and physiology are complementary sciences of biology, so the facts of both group processes and group structures are data of sociology. Functions and forms of groups (processes and structures, behaviors and organizations), however one wants to express the dynamic and static aspects of group phenomena, are different aspects of the same realities. Social processes lead to relations, or structures, or organizations (*forms*); organizations condition processes (*function*).

Since processes are more subtle and covert than structures, much space has been devoted to their analysis and description. But some consideration must here be given to the

framework of groups in order to round out our knowledge of the groups in our schools and communities. This framework of society not only is found in the status or organizations of people but also actually in the architecture of material culture — streets, houses, arrangement of rooms, furniture, and the like. But the structure defined here is not that of a house but of the group or groups using it. The structure of material culture is a precipitate of group processes and a physical setting that reflects group structure. We shall refer to this again in connection with neighborhoods and communities. Let us then study the elementary aspects of group structures in terms of the nature, methods, functions, and diseases of social organization.

#### THE NATURAL BASIS OF ORGANIZATION

As previously noted, organization is found even in animal groups. In fact, this should not surprise us, for as the name indicates, it is basic to all life. What is life but a function of organization of matter, which is really an organization of energy expressions, some of which persist for longer periods of time with greater stability? There are the forms of organisms. Every living thing reveals organization; its form is a result of survival adjustments and has survival value. So too do the societal structures result from experience and, broadly speaking, possess not only group survival value but also biological survival value. Societal structures represent a level of organization beyond that of the merely physical as in the organization of cells in an organism. The parallels are close, so close that some sociologists such as Spencer and Lillienfeld have regarded "society as an organism," not merely as an analogy but as an actuality. But Lester F. Ward<sup>6</sup> has effectively revealed the fallacies of such a conception, namely that persons as members of society are not under the rigid control as are cells in an organism.

Organization of any kind depends upon individual differences: biological organization, upon different cells; personal organization, upon different habits and wishes; group organization, upon differences of persons as members; so-

<sup>6</sup> *First Sociology*, Macmillan 1907, p. 563.

cial organization, upon different groups. Differences are the raw materials of organization; organization is the technic of adjusting differences for the optimum functioning of the different elements. Differences of abilities, differences of cultural achievements, differences of personality, differences of ideals—these are brought into effective accommodation and co-operation through social organization.

Organization as a result of experience is, so to speak, precipitated and stabilized methods of collective solutions to crises. For example, in a street crowd situation, what organization exists is mainly potential because there is no collective crisis. Let one occur and immediately certain forms or degrees of organization will be achieved, as we have previously analyzed. Whatever crises exist in a street crowd are personal and multi-individual and whatever organization is to be found consists of personal organization of wishes and habits that carry each member of the street crowd about his own business.

#### WHAT IS ORGANIZATION?

FIRST, organization involves the determination of the types of behaviors required for functions which the group aims to perform. These are defined with varying degrees of precision, depending upon the general character of the organization. In a back-lot ball game, boys understand as the game progresses just who is to pitch, catch, play the bases, field, and umpire. The same boys off on a camping hike may develop by common consent what each is to do when the party makes camp. But how much more exact is the precision of behaviors expected of each member in a professional baseball game, or the establishment of an army camp!

No sooner does high school open than classes convene to organize. The first step is to decide what activities to have. So they list presiding at meetings, amusing, writing letters and keeping minutes of meetings, collecting and expending dues, and special types of efforts for special needs. Thus, there may be dances to be held (dance committee), rehearsals for

dramatic competition (dramatic committee), and so on through the list.

The next step is to regularize the procedures or behaviors. This is necessary to avoid duplication or chaos and to create reliable interdependencies. Otherwise co-operation could not be effected. Each has a more or less accurate picture of all the activities in the group that concern him. This regularization facilitates the further steps in organization.

The foregoing specifications will be found in written constitutions and by-laws of formally organized groups, or in the common understandings or oral rules of a play group. The opening days of school are given over by the teacher to informing pupils what they are expected to do, and when — by assigning seats, forming classes, assigning lessons, setting up schedules—all of which is the what and the when of behaviors of teachers and pupils.

#### DIVISION OF LABOR

THE NEXT step is to determine what each one can best do and to fit each with his aptitudes and skills and attitudes and ideals into those types of efforts to be performed at set hours. This is the discovery of specialized capacities and the division of the labor collectively to be performed by apportionment of that part that each member can do conveniently and satisfactorily to all concerned, or best according to established rules and standards.

In schools the discovery of habits and skills is secured through subjecting students to tests: intelligence tests, reading tests, arithmetic tests, and so on. In lieu of these grades for previous school periods are taken. Thus pupils are put into definite grades, classes, sections, courses, which represent the regularized procedures that teachers are expected to carry on during the year. In classes further specialization and division of labor are effected under the teacher's leadership, so as to give each child an optimum opportunity for learning the course or curriculum content.

Or consider the school staff, how each person is a trained specialist in some part of the total work of a school, either as

a grade teacher, or a subject instructor, supervisor, principal, superintendent, school nurse, visiting teacher.

#### INTEGRATION OF AUTHORITY

By characterizing differences of group members in terms of specialties and dividing the collective labor accordingly, the members are classified to carry out the activities or regular procedures as originally designated. With this specification of what each is to do goes a definition of responsibilities, duties, obligations, rights, prerogatives, and privileges; in short, a specification of the amount of authority each one in the organization possesses. To define each person according to his status is to circumscribe his powers in relation to the powers and status of others. This is the process of integrating the elements of an organization.

This integration of function and of authority is really the major aspect of organization. It is clearly illustrated in a factory, school, community, or army. A worker is employed; he is interviewed and tested by letters of recommendation or by special vocational tests, assigned to a machine, which he handles according to the standards of the factory or the nature of the machine for specified work periods. His area of authority is limited; his responsibility is limited to his machine; his rights are confined chiefly to the expectation of certain money as wages when regular periods of such behavior are completed. Over him is the boss with broader rights and more extensive responsibilities. He may discharge a worker but not his superior foreman; thus authority at each level in an organization applies to those below but not to those above. Organization represents a pyramiding of status up to the head. This run of authority from superintendent, assistant superintendents (superintendents), to principals, to teachers, to class presidents is the incidence of control.

Manifestly the foregoing is all too simple a definition of integration and incidence of control, for these vary in specific details according to the nature of the organization. There may be autocratic organization or democratic organization; each type would show marked differences in the ranges of status, the integrations and the incidences of control.

Furthermore, there would be significant variations in the mechanisms used for registration of attitudes or opinions. Thus an autocratic teacher forbids whispering or talking and does not tolerate under the control allocated to her by the school principal criticism of herself or her methods. Another teacher establishes rapport with her pupils, allows them to talk softly so as not to interfere with teaching or the study of other pupils, welcomes suggestions of pupils as to things to do, appreciates criticisms and makes them the basis of improvements, and so provides herself with norms of efficiency in teaching on a human and co-operative basis.

Every organization sets up some mechanism for the registration of opinion according to the prerogatives of those of defined status. In our country, generally speaking, if a citizen does not possess property to a certain value, he lacks the power to cast votes. Who can exploit what mechanisms must be determined in each organization by investigation.<sup>1</sup> But as shown in the previous chapter, the mechanisms of registering opinion and the techniques of their exploitation are important facts in discovering how any organization works, whether it is educational, familiar, religious, economic, or political.

#### PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

THE GROUP expectations and understandings of status of members tend to become formalized in organizations that develop tradition. They may be recorded in rules, regulations, by-laws, constitutions, faculty actions, executive committee minutes, judges' opinions, decrees, or in sacred literatures. Now in the course of time members fail to meet these expectations. They violate rules, community totems or taboos, break laws and so become maladjusted in the group. In communities, they are dealt with in courts under the laws; but what happens when a teacher fails to meet the expectations? Is it proper for a teacher to accept free copies of a textbook before an order has been placed? If he does, may he feel obligated to order the text he has accepted as a gift instead of another which is really a better text, but which the publishers do not give away? In such a case, who suffers?

To answer questions like these which are not questions of



the community mores or themselves but of the wisdom of experience in an organized field of endeavor like education, certain behaviors are defined for such critical situations. In this instance: no teacher should ever accept a free text that involves any explicit or implied obligation to buy. So in time there grow up norms or behavior patterns generally approved by those of higher status in an organization which are called "professional ethics."

Manifestly every educator somewhere in his period of professional preparation should have a course in professional ethics so that quickly and effectively he could learn what are the typical crisis or tension situations and what are the dictates of the best experience (professional ethics) in such cases. Otherwise he learns sporadically and often makes serious errors.

#### METHODS OF MAINTENANCE OF GROUP EXISTENCE

GROUP organizations of the more formal and stable kind develop definite methods of maintaining continuous existence by renewing membership. There is a selection of members. Such is illustrated by tests or school reports for entrance into grades or classes, teaching certificates, higher degrees for administrative positions, state examinations for entrance in medical, legal, and other professional organizations, rushing fraternity candidates, political elections, citizenship papers, and many more. The recruits are selected according to norms of membership and participation established. They replace those who resign, are retired, or who are eliminated by death. The care in selection of new members is not only a guarantee of continuity of the organization but also its ability to effect changes that adapt it to societal changes as they occur. In their selections some organizations stress youth and the possibilities of change and improvement; others in their selections stress age and the conservative ideal—to maintain the traditional patterns.

Members are inducted with formalities proportionate to the degree of formal organization of the group. Such are initiation ceremonies: wedding folkways, receptions, welcoming committees, Americanization classes, initiation rites of

secret societies, graduation exercises. They are designed for quick inculcation under emotionalized situations for more effective control through heightened suggestibility of the initiate, of the group behavior patterns and expectations, rights and duties of the new member. The formality of these procedures is a rough index of the solidarity of the organization.

There are, too, distinctive forms of collective representations of the group organizations in the form of folkways—dress, speech, ideals, rewards—that develop *esprit de corps* and morale, forms of loyalty to the organization. In schools there are class flowers, class songs, class mottos, class caps or canes, or class names, or the same for schools as an entire unit. Fraternities have pins, professions, degrees, and other symbols; vocations, uniforms such as overalls for laborers, or blue suits for policemen and train crews, caps for collectors, white dresses for nurses in hospitals. Around these culture traits, symbolic of groups, members organize personally their emotions. These sentiments resist attack or destruction and the resistance is shown in the loyal defense of the group. This is the sociological import of patriotic inculcation of respect for the flag, the national anthem, and other nationality symbols.

Many educators view such group representations as nuisances but they should know that by such simple techniques do churches, states, families develop loyalties of the most intensive kind. The enhancement of the prestige of the school symbols tends to increase the suggestibility of students or pupils and improves thereby the general conditions of learning. Public school officials have much to learn in this respect from head masters of private preparatory schools. In the latter one commonly finds much effort devoted to the development of *esprit de corps* and morale through the exploitation of various forms of collective representation. The unity and solidarity of the school organization are effectively expanded thereby. The important rôle of athletic teams in this connection should be noted.

Negatively, organizations maintain their unity and efficiency by corrections and punishments. Very slight varia-

tions from the group norm may not be noted unless there are specialists for this purpose: visiting teachers in schools, public health doctors and nurses in communities, special medical units in factories, personnel workers in department stores. It is the business of these people to discover the slight variations from the norm which are known to be important because of potential developments that may threaten the safety of the group. Such is the newer program of discovery in the interests of prevention of anti-social types.

Distinct or noticeable variations are punished or corrected by mild forms of control—gossip, criticism, threats or fines, by stronger forms of punishment such as suspension, limitation of freedom, or by expulsion for the most extreme variations that severely threaten the existence of the group—withdrawal of membership privilege as in the case of "The Man Without a Country," or discharge from a factory job, or refusal to renew a teaching contract and blacklisting, or by exile or capital punishment. While most of these instances apply to general community life, the student can readily find cases in schools. In the past for many people schools have become traditional stereotypes of organized punishment. The newer methods of treatment of problem pupils through clinical investigation and social case work treatment are doing much to change this unfortunate condition.

Organizations also develop distinct ways of effecting readjustments of members and their status and activities. Many examples have already been offered in other connections. Ideally we strive for democratic methods.

#### ORGANIZATION AND CRISIS

THERE seems to be a positive correlation between the degree of group organization and the severity of the crisis the organization is meant to resolve. That is, the severer the crisis, the higher the degree of organization. We find those groups that represent the community in its struggle for biological survival highly organized, with strict procedures, clear-cut definitions of behavior and punishments for violations of expectations. Such is true of army and navy groups, of the medical profession and nursing, railwaymen, navigators, and

policemen. In these morale is exemplary; any desertion is punished most severely.

What about educational organizations? One finds little evidence that either the morale or the unity, solidarity, or clarity of rules, prescriptions, requirements, and standards of admission or promotion, or punishments for violations, or professional ethics, indicate an organization designed to solve a crisis severe as war, or struggle against disease, or safety in transportation, or freedom from criminal attack. There is organization but it is not high, nor strict compulsions, nor definite units, nor severe punishments, nor precise definitions. Some advance along these lines has been made recently, largely under the impetus of the relation of education to national defense in the World War.

We are, however, adding much to our knowledge to show that it may be more serious to fail the child in the crises of his personality development than in his physical survival. When and if this becomes more generally recognized, the severity of the crises will be appreciated and demands they little think of now will be made upon educators.

#### WHAT IS ORGANIZATION WORTH?

There are definite advantages to group organization in spite of the fact that many people at one time or another fret under the limitations imposed through rules and regulations in schools, or conventions and laws of communities.

Within the group itself, the advantages are: (1) an increased efficiency in movement toward achieving collective objectives; (2) maximization of persistent control over members by positive and negative methods of preventing too great deviation from approved types of behavior; (3) the preservation of valuable experience through communication under relatively close contact and records of the organization.

The advantages of organization among groups are: (1) the elimination of wastes through collective competition and conflicts by substituting integrated accommodations; (2) subordination of minor to major objectives, of vital-interest groups to general community welfare [when we lack (1), it is a definite evidence of community disorganization];

(3) continuity in group or community life; (4) more comprehensive social action; and (5) a basis for political efficiency.

Can these advantages be found in school organization? All of them, or only some of them? In what school situations? If not, should school organizations be changed so that they might be secured?

#### DISEASES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

While social organization has definite advantages, some of them basic to biological survival, nevertheless it also tends to develop diseases, some of which actually result in biological extinction (war).

#### OVER-ORGANIZATION

THE PROCESSES that secure the advantages of organization by their very successes tend to increase and multiply until they become extreme, and thereby transmute the very purposes of the organization. Examples are: over-departmentalizing in schools, proliferation of specialties in administrative staff, bureaucracy in government, impersonalization of industry and finance.

Mass or extension of numbers of members of an organization is a major cause in the development of over-organization, or in fact, of most of the diseases of organization.

#### "ENDS IN THEMSELVES"

There is a tendency in any long established group to make the maintenance of the organization or of the group the main object of effort. The organization was originated and developed for specific purposes; when those aims are sacrificed for the means, then a serious condition in the group or the body politic has set in. "Man was not made for the Sabbath"; "My country, right or wrong"; the sacrifice of people for the sake of property; conservative resistance to changes in institutions; "art for art's sake"; these are suggestive of various manifestations of this disease. The true leader of people is willing to sacrifice his group or his organization, if by so doing their greater welfare may be secured. No agency

or institution has rights of its own beyond its capacity to contribute to human adequacy. The most inspiring example is that of public health which strives to make itself unnecessary or the social work agency that aims at its own elimination when the state does the same work by setting up agencies on the pattern of the demonstration or the teacher who hopes his pupils will be better than himself.

Not only in school administration\* but also in curriculum courses and contents can one readily find instances of this disease. Quite obviously those who profit by the organization "as is" can hardly be expected quietly to abdicate and to allow its elimination. It is they who will rationalize many "outcomes" to prove that what they are doing is essential to "education," "the cultured man," or the "program of civilization." Such are those who insist upon teaching subjects whose societal worths are not demonstrable.

#### NEPOTISM AND FAVORITISM

NEPOTISM is the practice of giving places in an organization to one's relatives; favoritism, of assigning functions to friends; when neither relatives nor friends have capacities equal to others available and ready to occupy the status. Examples of nepotism in public schools tend to be rare in the United States, though the ideals of familism make it a curse of Chinese industrial, political, and educational organizations; but favoritism is not uncommon.

#### "RED TAPE"

RED TAPE is the excessive regularization of procedures which decreases the actual efficiency of the organization. There is no fixed limit for this, like some of the other terms, is more descriptive and suggestive than scientific; but the day is coming when these unfavorable growths of organization will be precised, measured, and correlated with organizational efficiencies. As organizations grow large and formal and old, they acquire undue respect for their ways, though a simplification of procedure and direct contacts would be

\* See *Providence School Survey, 1923-1924*. E. C. Rogers of Publications,

effective medicines. Formerly, one had to pass through several offices and recount the same explanation for his presence to various subordinates or "flunkies" before he could interview the manager of a bank. Today managers of banks, hotels, and businesses make themselves quite accessible to anyone who desires to consult them. What would be the gains if educational administrators came out of their "holy of holies" long enough to find out what happens in the corridors, classrooms, study halls, and on the playgrounds?

#### "CLOSED CORPORATIONS"

WHEN an organization is controlled by a few persons as directors or owners who allow renewals to their numbers only rarely and when necessary, it is called a "closed corporation." Such a condition leads to dry rot for lack of new and different points of view or methods. Family business is such, and for an organization of this kind, it is counted three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves. Constant infusion of new members is to an organization what cross fertilization is to biological organisms.

#### "THE WHOLE SHOW"

SOMETIMES because of favorable position certain members of an organization manipulate themselves into supreme control. They are dictators, autocrats, absolutists, and they manipulate the organization for their own personal ends rather than for the objectives of the group as a whole. Such may be found in families, schools, religious groups, and states today. If their power becomes in the least precarious, they will readily propagate many reasons why their position is essential to the good of the people! It is hard, however, to divorce their personal motives from their manipulations and their leadership.

#### NEED FOR RESEARCH

THIS field of correlating facts of school organization with school efficiencies is another rich field for scientific research. Many questions press for answer: what kinds and amounts of integration are best for what size of organizations? What

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form of class organization is best suited to teaching Latin? Geometry? Social Studies? Physics? How can a superintendent organize his teachers for optimum professional development? What are the tension points in teaching for which professional ethics have not yet been formulated? And many, many more.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What "vis-a-vis-interest" groups exert pressure upon the administration of your school?

2. Specifically why did you join the school groups to which you now belong? Include regular class groups.

3. Criticize the author's criticism of the "interest" theory of group formation.

4. Do you agree that groups are tools of personal adjustment to a crisis?

5. What evidences have you that "groups" are used more effectively under the new pedagogy than under the "old"?

6. Can you show how group structures inevitably develop from



group processes? Of what adjustment value is this to the group? To the members, personally?

7. Upon what specific differences does the organization of your class in sociology rest? Of your family? Of your student club? Of your school as a whole?

8. What is the function of professional ethics?

9. What are the effects on class organization of the methods of selection of new members of class groups?

10. What diseases of organization do you find in your school?

#### EXERCISES

1. Write a case illustration from your own experience. If necessary, of the propositions under "Group Values and Pupal Personality." Pp. 267-272.

2. Make a graph of the organization of some administrative unit in education: school, city, county, or state. Also of a curriculum.

3. Analyze the professional ethics in use in your situation and list the prevalent crises indicated by the ethics.

## CHAPTER XVI

### NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES IN RELATION TO SCHOOL PROBLEMS

**WE** CAME FROM sections of the country where radio poles flaunted their drunkenness from every bowtop; where prowling felices and their natural prey made merry through the night, where flappers' negligees and kitchen mops hung side by side on nearby fire tescapes, where potent player pianos and jazz whos made of the night a bacchanal as well as a machine, where dumb women conveyed the confidence of many a family and sidewalks became the forum where reputations were sometimes made, but mostly lost, where rocking chairs kept time to gum-chewing occupations in their merry tale of last night's cramps or the digging out of a promising appendix.

Those were the happy days when exercise could be had by the dodging of baby cabs and banana peels could be disposed of by an easy toss from the window; when wagers could be made on whether our cigars would slide off the awning of the tenant below, or set the awning on fire.

Those were the days when grass was a curiosity and a stunted geranium on the window sill became a flower garden.

And now look at us — we know everybody. We know their jobs, how much they earn, and how they spend it. We know how many children they have. We are aware of him who makes home brew and exactly what his recipe is. We know who have curtains, what kind, and whether or not they pull them down. We know the husbands and wives who do not get along and we have formed our opinions as to which of them is wrong.

We know whose children are ugly, and that it's because their mothers nag them all the time. We know positively that Mrs. — cannot afford that last new silk dress she got and that Mrs. — looks terrible in her new hob.

We know, of course, that we have grass, but who can walk on it? We know that we have a few trees, too, but also that little Bobbie was deprived of the pleasure of peeling a few strips of bark from them with that new knife we gave him.

We also know that no kid is allowed to climb the trees and bend them to the ground as was allowed father in his woodlot in the country. We have yards now, of course, but nobody is allowed to keep a pig.

In this new location we cannot even let our Fido howl all night if it wants to, and Fido has such a sweet howl. We are not allowed to have our washings out on Sunday, the very day when we have lots of visitors.

Even little Johannes, who is only ten, and who hates rough boys, now has to play at the park, where he cannot always do as he wishes.

Such we might label as the confusions of one who moved from the neighborless cave-dwelling of Manhattan in New York City to ownership residence in a suburban development. Which would you say he prefers after several years in "Sunnyside"? When you have answered that question you are tracing reasons why those who live in country districts, villages, and small towns yearn for cities; and why those in our great cities dream of cottages with roses over the door and lawns and trees and flowers instead of match-box rooftops, gaping walls, and hot streets. Meanwhile the moving van does a thriving business.

Let us now examine neighborhood and community groups to see what is happening in them of importance to education. Perhaps one good way to evaluate these changing processes and relations of modern neighborhoods and communities would be to look into some primitive groups of these kinds.

#### PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES

There is no evidence that mankind at any time lived individualistically or alone. Always one finds him in groups, undergoing experiences in situations common to others; sometimes few people, sometimes many. Community seems to be a central fact in human history.

The cultural remains of early men (Pitoldows) reveal them as living and roaming in groups, occupying during the warm inter-glacial period of Pleistocene times the open river banks of the European peninsula. Excavations of these river stations indicate that people occupied them generation after

generation, leaving their records in tools, weapons, and the remains of food animals. These places are quite definite and seem to be assembly places or camp sites. (Compare tourist camps today, especially those that are not established but are favorable stopping places amongst trees and along banks of streams.) The people were probably nomadic but in their wanderings did not stop just anywhere but moved from one assembly place to another. This was probably the earliest identification of a human group with place.

1. How far can community be defined as an aggregation of persons? 2. Is community possible without fixed abode?

Later, by the time the Neanderthals had possessed the whole of Europe, the cold winds of the advancing ice sheet had driven them from the open river banks to seek shelter under the overhanging cliffs and in shallow grottoes. For thousands of years these peoples occupied such stations. Probably life under unfavorable climatic conditions tended to become less nomadic, thereby enlarging the group and establishing identification with place. Movements and migrations occurred—evidenced by the widespread diffusion of Neanderthals from Gibraltar to the Baltic—but we can think of ordinary group life as relatively stable, but with the necessary forays for food. This stability, of both life, culture, and place-use, is shown by the fact that culture begun in Pittdown times was taken over and developed by successive generations of Neanderthals, thus creating a culture continuum from the Pre-Chellean, through the Chellean, to the Mousterian culture level.

3. Does community depend upon culture accumulation?  
4. How does continuity of place affect culture accumulation?  
5. What environmental conditions make for definition of locality for an aggregation or assembly? With what outcomes?

After the Neanderthals came the Cro-Magnons. Apparently in the first European "world war," the Cro-Magnons wiped out the Neanderthals, for in nearly every culture station in Europe, there is evidence of a culture revolution. With the Mousterian culture level, the Neanderthal-Pittdown continuum ends and culture levels quite different and much

richer mark the advent of the superior Cro-Magnons. Evidence of community life is now quite clear not only in the use of fire, in the stone and bone remains, but also in art achievements. Their carvings, carvings, and paintings point toward highly organized community life that centered in the deep caves as protection against the intense cold at the height of the glacial epoch. There is, then, some direct and much indirect evidence that Men of the Old Stone Age—from 750,000 to 1,500,000 years ago—lived in communities.

6. What is the significance of fire in the development of early communities? 7. How long today could a community endure without fire in its ramified forms? 8. What earliest technological inventions influenced most the development of community life? 9. From prehistoric cultures, what definition of community may be formulated?

In later Neolithic times—New Stone Age—the Nordic communities and Mediterranean Lake villages furnished unmistakable evidence of community life.

10. Are many people necessary for a community? 11. How many? 12. Where can one find neighborhoods in these prehistoric times? 13. How do they differ from communities?

#### PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES

Primitive communities throw indirect light upon prehistoric conditions as survivals and also carry on the story of historical developments. They represent cultures of peoples arrested in development because of geographical isolation from the major movements of civilizations.

Central Australian culture is very crude. There is no pottery, no agriculture. There is domestication of the dingo, or Australian wolf. The women gather yams, roots, and berries. The men hunt; the women fish. The chief implement is the digging stick. Animals are hunted by surrounding them or by throwing clubs—boomerangs.

There are no huts, only windshields of bark. There is no money; people exchange products. There is no writing; people use message sticks cut with notches to remind the messenger at each point in the entire message. Decorative

art is simple. In dramatization, they mimic animals. Religion is animistic; practices are magical. In fact, the clan or blood-groups are magic-working associations. A number of clans make up a tribe. The individuals of a tribe are not strictly segregated but mingle with several local groups. People are united by ancestral connections objectified in totems. Marriage is controlled not by the clan but by phratries, classes, and sub-classes, the last two groups having no other function. Before a person has a status as a member of a community he must undergo the initiation ceremonies. Then he has the privilege of co-operating with others in the prevalent rites and ceremonies.

14. What is the relation of economic activities to community? 15. Can community be defined as a totem area or ritual area or ceremonial area? Does this suggest that a community can be thought of as an area of social interaction, an area within which there is a distinct universe of discourse? An area of distinctive attitudes and practices—culture area? 16. What are some community initiation ceremonies today? 17. Do modern communities have totems?

In Southern Australia the fire and the hearth are the family and business center. Life is mainly nomadic. Taboos are common and for the complete control of conduct. Groups are small and kinship is strictly defined: the status of each person is prescribed by ways he must act toward his kindred. Each family lays claim to a distinct tract of land. On the whole rights in land are common but there are, however, preferential rights to spring, rock, or tree. Stones mark tribal boundaries which may be crossed only with message sticks. The community as a whole is made up of a number of families with chiefs. But there is no state organization because the groups are not large.

18. What happens to kin loyalties when people become numerous and the relationships complex? 19. May a community be thought of as a range of application of taboos? 20. How does territory enter into the definition of a Central Australian community? 21. Do the boundary stones suggest national borders and the message sticks, passports? 22. Is a

community dependent upon common rights or is it more an area of social organizations?

In the Baganda-Uganda land, the west Lake Victoria Nyanza region of Africa, one finds an economic life that is varied and complex. The people are breeders and herders of cattle. Maize is the staple product of agriculture but hunting is also important. Other products are pottery, cloth, baskets, leather, and canoes made by skilled craftsmen. Houses and roads are built by large-scale co-operative construction. There is a capital city and towns and villages connected by roads built by workmen furnished by local communities.

The *sib* (descendants of one ancestor) is exogamous. It is sub-divided into local divisions or *estates*, which are situated in different districts. The estates are in charge of chiefs responsible for the conduct of the members of the *sibs*. There are also free lands secured by burial during three or four generations. Each *sib* has its own name and its own gods. Families are organized into communities under a patriarchal chief. These communities are organized into a monarchical state with an aristocracy. There is high political organization with elders, a commune, and limited central authority.

23. What correlations can be suggested as probably existing between economic activities, mass of population, territorial expanse, social organization, mobility of populations, political complexity, and community characteristics? 24. What are the forms of collective representation, the symbols of community found in Baganda-Uganda? 25. Is a primitive community a blood-bond area? 26. Is the modern community also? 27. Is the ancient community a political area?

The Reindeer Chukchee in Siberia live in camps. "One camp, one herd," as their saying goes, with from ten to fifteen persons to a camp. The leader or master is the one strongest physically; he is a natural leader. The basis of group membership is blood and inheritance. Strangers may belong to the group but they are hired as "assistants." Blood revenge practices are strictly adhered to.

Among the Maritime Chukchee the people live in villages; territorial contiguity and not blood is the basis of

village life. There is no word in their language for "family." The nearest term is *syrym*, "houseful," (Czaplicka)

28. Are communities occupationally determined? In what ways? 29. Is the territorial basis of responsibility among Maritime Chukchee similar to that which obtains today for delineation of a community? 30. Is this true: The greater the mobility of a people, the smaller the community? Is it true today? Under what conditions is it not true? 31. Do all communities pass through in an orderly progression the same stages of growth and consolidation and organization?

In America, the Iroquois tribes lived in villages of long houses, each containing one hundred or more persons. The men were hunters; the women worked the fields in "bees" with women overseers. The fields were directly connected with villages and were cultivated one by one, most of the women of the village participating in the work on all the fields. There were, too, as in Europe, China, and the New England towns, "commons," certain fields which belonged not to a single household but to the village as a whole. There was a limited type of communism, which would be better called collectivism. The surplus was considered as belonging to those who needed it. The produce from the common fields was held for the needy and for festivals in which all participated.

Thus individual need and public or common welfare was guaranteed by definite group ownership and practice. Their interdependence was recognized not only in their division of labor but also in their collectivistic policy. Immorality was conceived as that which threatened the welfare of the community in any way.

In general then the characteristics of primitive communities were: aggregations of folk on land carrying on work that reflected adaptations of the folk to land with kinship important but not the only group-forming factor, for primitive tribes were stratified by age distinctions, sex differences, matrimonial status, which sometimes are more important than kin. In such instances we have shifts from blood-bond communities to civic communities, processes that were always accentuated when populations expanded especially in the



growth of cities. Common folk, common land, common work, common ideas, attitudes, and values, common crises and common solutions—these were the stuff of early communities.

#### MEDIEVAL COMMUNITIES

Types of community in medieval times are found in two different situations: the agricultural village and the market town. This is true of Europe in earlier days, and is true today in India and China. The community center is a cluster of houses set in the midst of the fields owned and cultivated by the villagers, as in the Russian *mir*. In China most of the villagers are related by blood; the whole system is familiar with the technique of social control being ancestral worship and filial piety. The market town was a trade center into which villagers brought products and exchanged them for money or goods which they needed but did not produce. It became the commercial center of caravan and trade routes, and because of contacts thus established became the financial, political, and cultural center.

In Europe many of these towns grew up at the foot of castles of lords and barons in order to provide arms, food, artisan services, or money in return for protection against competing lords or robber barons. In time these towns grew into cities with relatively large populations, 10,000 to 50,000 persons. The successful tradesmen and money lenders and brokers gradually wrested from the overlords and protectors rights and privileges for themselves in return for gold with which to carry on crusades or wars. The rise of the burghers plus the revival of learning and the industrial revolution threw feudalism permanently into the discard and the cities, having gained a certain amount of self-rule and wealth through their charters, became the units of leagues and other federations for military protection and state organization.

Thus by the time of our own Revolution, the basis of community life was no longer the blood bond of ancient familist villages, but territory, property, mutual aid, interdependence which created obligations to those living con-

tiguously, apart from any blood relation. Loyalties had changed from familial to civic types.

These patterns of community life were reflected in our Colonial history by the New England town which was a cluster of houses set in extensive lands owned by the villagers and townsmen; and by the plantations of the South where each owner set his manor in the midst of his fields, in the style of the wealthy landlord of Europe. Later as the West was opened up the governmental policy of free land by squatting accentuated the developed individualism and established in property and government the principle of individualism. Thus we lost in time the sense of community as a closely knit body of people providing mutual aid and control. For the village we then have the isolated farm that broke away from earlier units of social organization and attempted to survive independently. The pioneer influence produced a "country desert," and a strong policy of individualism.

In cities other influences were at work through industrialization and urbanization to destroy the ancient solidarities of family or collective economy, so that the nineteenth century in the United States created a farm life quite inadequate and doomed by the smallness of the units of organization because of geographical isolation and a city life doomed by rapid expansion and "city wilderness."

The twentieth century on the other hand, through settlement work in city slums, organized philanthropy, sociological surveys, rural organizations and county agents, rural experimentation in improvement not only of farm products but also of farm life, rural sociology, expanded and socialized religious efforts, and more scientific education, has seen the emergence of an emphasis upon "community" in our modern thinking. After our orgy of expansion in private property, industrial and rural, we have once more discovered the importance of civic relations and the necessity of organizing them for collective welfare.

But unfortunately research into neighborhoods and communities is of such recent development that sociologists have not yet achieved agreement on very precise definitions for

either of these categories. Let us first consider neighborhoods

#### NEIGHBORHOODS ARE PRIMARY GROUPS

NEIGHBORHOODS are primary groups dominated by immediate face-to-face contacts. With the family, gang, school, and church, the neighborhood represents one of the more limited ranges of contact that characterize child life. Therefore the influences of neighborhood are quite powerful, for a maximum number of senses is operating to enhance suggestibility of the growing child and to effect social control of him.

#### ARE NEIGHBORHOODS ALWAYS PLACE GROUPS?

NEIGHBORHOODS historically were areas usually limited to thick, restricted, personal contacts with people who lived "nigh" and were intimate. They were the first ranges of interdependency and mutual aid and as we have just seen, were identical with the blood-group or family or sib and with community.

In the literature on neighborhoods and communities, students will find much confusion at this point: some writers identify neighborhood, place-group, and community. This is unfortunate, for sometimes such overlapping is found but many situations reveal characteristics that make such identification unsound. For example, rural sociologists refer to people in country districts who consider themselves as belonging to a place—Sleepy Hollow, Pine Ridge, Swamp Creek—as a community. They may or may not be. Nor should we readily designate them even as neighborhood. Here place itself is not enough to make a neighborhood, as we shall see.

#### WHO IS MY NEIGHBOR?

If we identify place and people with neighborhood, then we face this difficulty: people live in certain places, rural or urban, but have little or no contact with those who live nigh to them. Foreign families move from cities to abandoned farms. The old farm families do not even speak to

them, much less visit them. They belong to none of the usual groups dominated by the established population. Politically, socially, even often religiously, they find themselves isolated. Their social participations are quite low even in economic relations.\* Are the old farm families whose fields adjoin the immigrants' neighbors?

On the other hand, the immigrant family exchange visits constantly with its old friends in the city brought closer by motor car than the market town of earlier epochs. Or are these neighbors who do not live nigh but far away, but who know and are known?

Or consider this as a picture of conditions in large cities:

New Yorkers have always laughed at the objection offered by provincials that the city is so large that one does not know his next-door neighbor. It is true that one may live a fairly complete life as a cliff dweller here without so much as knowing the name of the occupant of the ledge below. New Yorkers must that this condition has its advantages — that here there is no gossip-hungry spying such as one finds in the small town, where everyone knows everything his neighbor does.

Police, however, will tell you that it has its disadvantages too. Detectives are now working on the mysterious death of Mrs. Guy Harrington, an actress. Mrs. Harrington had lived for almost two years in an apartment in West 190th Street. No definite clues being established with the finding of her body, the police turned to a perusal of her life in search of a thread that would lead them to a solution.

Now they report that the questioning of all the occupants of the apartment house has left them exactly where they were. Mrs. Harrington, for all her neighbors knew of her, might as well have been living in Indo-China. Few of her neighbors had ever seen her. None of them knew when she came in or when she went out. The incident is an interesting piece of evidence of the complete isolation which New York affords, but not one that is likely to lead to greater neighborliness.

When isolation actually exists among those who live geographically contiguous, let us not call the people and their area of residence neighborhoods but "place-groups." The amounts and conditions of contacts and social participations which characterize place-groups can be differentiated from

\* Hyman, J. L. *Op. cit.*

neighborhoods. Let us reserve the concept "neighborhood" for such groups as live nigh on land and through thick, intimate contact carry on social participations quite different from those of place-groups.

#### SOCIAL WORLDS

WHAT, then, shall we call those groups of people who though geographically separated through modern techniques of transportation and communication keep in close contact and influence one another as powerfully as under traditional conditions of neighborhood? The land or geographic factor is gone but the function remains. What is that function? Control of personal wishes through gossip. This was characteristic of historical neighborhoods: is lost in place-groups; recaptured in social worlds. Thus the immigrant family lives its life according to the values of its alien culture and the totems and taboos of its own circle of friends and relatives. To them it is sensitive in the formation and selection of wishes which it wants to satisfy; but to the "established families" it is indifferent and so does many things unwittingly that shock the "backbone of the community," who then further isolate the immigrants as defense against attack, as they think of it, upon American morals and institutions. What an uncle thinks in the city fifty miles away is thus more significant in wish control than what "nigh" ones think. For people carrying on such social interactions unlimited by place let us employ the concept "social worlds." A social world is, then, a group of people, though widely separated, who, through gossip, controls the choices and expressions that its members make.

Manifestly, instances may be found today as in earlier periods where neighborhood, place-group, and social world are all one. A true neighborhood combines place-group and social world. Cancel out the social world aspect and you have merely a place-group; cancel out place-group from neighborhood and you have merely a social world.

These distinctions are of value simply to precise details of societal phenomena realistically and to correlate the details of relations and processes to behaviors of persons or

groups involved in them. Review the discussion of personality in this connection.

## TECHNOLOGY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

WHAT is it that causes this shifting apart of place and control in neighborhood? Modern technology, which provides elimination of space through rapid transportation and effects quick primary contacts in spite of distance that would otherwise isolate, and through efficient communication that puts people in secondary contact who are highly suggestible to one another—letters, telegrams, and telephone. Television is bound to affect these processes because it will re-establish some of the aspects of primary contact. We shall both see and hear whereas now we only *either* see or hear. The general acceptance and success of television will depend upon the ability of each to censor his contacts. Since it is this same technology which has made urbanization possible as we see it today, we may shorten our explanation by saying that modern communication tends to destroy the historical neighborhood and to produce place-groups and distinct social worlds instead.

## TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOODS

WITH our definitions in mind, let us classify neighborhoods. We may list occupational types as: *A*. Temporary or semi-permanent, lumber camps, harvesting camps, mining camps or villages, construction camps, vacation camps, artists' colonies; *B*. Permanent, open country farmsteads—the farm neighborhood, the little town—service centers in open country, single industry village, suburban—dormitory or matriarchal—neighborhood, Hobohemia—the "Jungles," and the like. Or second, racial and nationality types: native American, Negro, immigrant urban or immigrant rural neighborhoods. Or third, belief types: Quaker Hill, Utah, Zionists, communist colonies. Fourth, attitude types: "high-hat area," the slums, Bohemia, backward neighborhood, progressive neighborhood.

## NEIGHBORHOODS AND PERSONALITY

ALL THAT has been said in earlier chapters on primary contacts, the rôle of primary groups in controlling the growth of personality, or the early phases of personality development, applies at this point in analyzing the importance of neighborhoods. Especially are they important since the school is, on the lower levels, a neighborhood organization. As such it stands between the family on the one hand and the larger, complex community, on the other. A grade school mediates the child from the simple environment of family life to the wider ranges of mobility and contact of the neighborhood and begins his induction into the community, though the major work of adjusting him to community life occurs in high schools and colleges.

Let us say, then, that a neighborhood combines both place-group and social world, and there are many such still in existence in spite of disintegrating tendencies. What are the effects of such neighborhoods on people? This query is in harmony with the proposition earlier stated: the best method of evaluating a group or an institution is to discover what it does to people.

Since the child is born into the family and the neighborhood, it follows that through his family he is influenced by the dominant factors of neighborhood, so that by the time he enters school he has already acquired enough culture to adjust himself to ordinary situations. Through play groups he gets his first introduction into neighborhood conditions. Much control has been exercised for good or ill, creating for schools, later, assets or liabilities. In short, in the neighborhood, which has sometimes been designated as the "child's area," but which is here called the gossip area, he enters into those conflicts and other experiences under which his self emerges, his wishes take shape, remain unorganized, or become organized around values, positive or negative. The crude techniques of adjustment are required before entrance into the elementary grades, especially elements of language and the social images prevalent in family, play group, and neighborhood. Here too frustrations have occurred to which

the child personality has worked out adjustments by flight, by fight, or by fiction—mere psychic compensation.

Therefore the character of the family is of great importance to teachers, for the family incapacities or shortages will be reflected in the child's personality. Next in importance is the neighborhood which is the social gradient over which the child moves into the civic relations of community. In the neighborhood the child first acquires a status, *per se*, for in his or her family he is "our son" or "our daughter." The obligations of the family to the child are blood duties and are so recognized by law.

As the child moves out of the home into the neighborhood and makes contacts with other children and other families—yard, street, park, playground, and school—he has new experiences many of which were not defined nor evaluated by his family. He here acquires new norms and behavior patterns; some very different from those of his family, but he still is under the supervision of those who know him and his family. What he does is observed and reported so that family control follows him through friendly gossip. Manifestly the greater the unity and homogeneity of neighborhood family life the more readily does the child apply successfully the patterns acquired at home when in the neighborhood, and vice versa.

The neighborhood wields its greatest influence upon children because it is for them a combined place-group and social world. Adults can escape from the neighborhood gossip area whereas children are commonly bound by it. ■ thus provides for expanded experiences with non-kin persons and loyalties under the mechanism of supervisory control by family and friends.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD AND MALADJUDICIERY

Today with the disappearance of the old-fashioned neighborhood and the passing of the intimate gossip basis of control of personal choices and wish-formulations, behaviors reveal much more deviation from moresic norms. This is shown by the increase of "juvenile delinquency," and by the numerous problem children in school. (Allowance



should be made here for improved methods of discovery of maladjustment which did not formerly exist.) The shortages of neighborhood are in the shifting apart of place-group and social world. Those who come into primary contact with a child under the latter conditions do not belong to his social world and therefore cannot gossip effectively to his parents. Those who belong to his own universe of discourse and hold norms of behavior that he more or less understands, do not see him. This is true even of parents when they work all day or are too busy with social affairs to keep in touch with the children.

The causes of this shift which throws a child into divergent groups are high mobility of the population, disintegration of the home, and conflicts of social standards. There is today a disparagement of home values and greater opportunity for wishes to escape even though condemned by gossip of the neighborhood or social world. More and more life today is impersonalized; more and more contacts occur without social world controls. The complexity of modern localities reveals varieties of occupations, amusements, attitudes, groups, and physical environments. Now with the break-up of the family, the child has no constant sympathetic defining agency to criticize, synthesize, or correlate the divergent norms and behaviors he encounters in his place-group or social world. The loss of control gives children greater freedom for expression of their wishes, but it results in an increase of mental conflict, misconduct, and a loss of mutual aid.

#### WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT NEIGHBORHOODS?

There are those who hope to salvage neighborhoods by organizing people into blocks; those who hope to revive neighborhoods by developing residence areas on a personal basis; those who attempt to restore neighborhoods through settlements, clubs, and the like. The block plan failed miserably; the confession of the president of Sunnyside Association at the opening of this chapter shows what people who have tried it think of personal residence areas; settlements have altered their policies and objectives greatly since their earlier days.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether we can do anything about neighborhoods themselves. Conditions of life spell their doom and many people prefer their disappearance, as the increase of urban population bears witness.

The best we can do with our present knowledge is to be intelligent as to what is happening and to the losses people are suffering, in order to take up the slack at other points. Thus let schools enlarge their program by providing more hours of supervised activity under more personalized direction of teachers. They must substitute for the family.

The school is the only genuinely integrating and orienting agency available to many children in place-groups; but if teachers are going to succeed in this new rôle they must know more of personality growth, group controls, and the influences of social worlds on behavior. Perhaps so far the greatest promise along this line comes through the introduction of social work and the case method in visiting teaching. Mass teaching will only support the general effects of disintegration of neighborhoods. More teachers, more personalized teaching, visiting teaching, more and better supervision of increased facilities for play, removal of children from unfavorable city environments through development of suburban industrial communities, and town planning seem to be the best methods for offsetting the loss of neighborhoods.

#### COMMUNITIES

EARLY neighborhoods and communities were characterized by primary contact; today they are both tending to be dominated by secondary contact; but the movement in this direction has been more rapid in communities than neighborhoods. Therefore a distinction merely on the basis of type of contact is inadequate. We can apparently get along without neighborhoods but we cannot get along without communities.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES

THERE are plant communities in which different plants will draw sustenance from the same habitat (commensalism). There are animal communities, organized as herds and packs,

and living in a region that supplies food. Human communities are groups of people living on land bound together for biological and societal survival by organized interdependencies. A community can be thought of as an area within which people have all of the institutions. This distinguishes it from neighborhood. In the neighborhood we find family, play, and friendship institutions, in the community, these and many more, chiefly communication, economic and political institutions.

Consider a farm center at a railroad station: garage and gas station, grange hall, bank, school, and general store. Is this a community? J. H. Kolb\* found that in Wisconsin it took at least six services to maintain the average farm community. Sometimes a center may have only school and church, not even a general store. But suppose one wants a new suit of clothes, dental service, a surgical operation, or motion pictures, where will he go? To a center large enough to provide them. We find then that communities vary in size, number of services, and hence complexity of their organization.

Consider a town of 5000 people in the agricultural section of Illinois. Who make up that community? Only those who live within the political boundary? Many live just beyond the limits to escape higher taxes for town improvements but close enough to use the schools, motion pictures, drug stores and the like. Do they belong in the community? What about the farmers who ship their produce, bank their money, buy their goods in the town? Do they belong to this community? Really the community takes in all those who live, and move, and have their being in that area, apart from town limits or school districts or any other artificial boundary lines. It is a functional territorial group whose life is organized for adequacy and extends over that area within which there is adequacy so that the members do not go farther to satisfy their wishes or supply their needs. This unit we may call the organic community to distinguish it from "artificial community" such as that delimited by town or city or county boundaries.

\* "Source: *Ecology of Town and Country*."

People, land, and institutional adequacy are the three major concepts involved in the term community. One belongs to that community within which he has his needs met. When a number of people in a region have organized life on such a basis that they are largely self-sufficient, they may be considered a community. "Largely" because there is no such thing as "self-sufficiency."

Therefore, not only the townsmen but the farmers who use the town as a trade or social or educational center belong to the community just as much as those who dwell in the town and the limits of the community would have to be drawn around those outlying farms that so belong. Manifestly the boundaries of natural organic communities do not conform to political boundaries, for the latter frequently cut the former in all sorts of ways, thereby failing to adjust political organization to the natural developments of social organization.

What are the effects of artificial boundaries cutting through natural communities upon educational attendance, tax support of schools, political efficiency and the like?

#### PATRONAGE AREAS

INSTITUTIONAL participations can be pictured by spotting on a map the residence of each patron of an agency. Thus you would get a church patronage area, a banking area, a high school patronage area, a motion picture patronage area, a trade area, a sociability area, an area of social interaction. But is a banking area an area of social interaction the same as a church patronage area? Do all people come into contact in the banking area as they do in the church area? If not, is a trade area necessarily an area of social interaction?

By superimposing all the outlined areas of institutional participation, one gets a three-dimensional graph of a community. We can then define it: a community is an area within which a maximum number of people secure satisfaction of a maximum number of wishes. It is an area of adequacy; the neighborhood, *per contra*, is an area of control.

## TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

There are many different kinds of community. For example, there are open country communities, rural-urban (rurban) communities, urban and suburban communities; there are occupational communities such as steel, or mining, or textile single-industry communities, or dairy farm communities, or wheat-farming communities, or political communities such as Washington, D. C., or religious communities, educational communities such as a college town, ethnic communities such as an immigrant colony.

## FUNCTIONS OF COMMUNITIES

Communities provide for the expansion of personal life. Whereas neighborhood tends to cramp it, communities free it. Hence the preference for complex communities with minimum of neighborhood such as in our large cities. Communities extend the range of contacts and also the range of interdependencies and obligations. They secure a selection of contacts among superior types of people, for without question cities select genius from smaller communities and neighborhood situations. Through the complex organization of many different institutional agencies adequacy is increased in every way. Community provides community through its organization and constitution, which facilitates an effective transmission of culture in its broader and more complex aspects. It also effects a socialization of achievement through maximization of contacts.

No less are there disadvantages to community. First, technological inventions seem to have removed the limitations of community, for the world is the community for those who cannot adequately satisfy all their wishes in their city, state, or nation. This is becoming increasingly true of more people. That is why there is sociological justification for the organization of the world states into a United States of the World. The first steps toward this have already been taken in the League of Nations and the World Court, both of which will have to wait to become really important until we have had more world economic organizations. Note trends in

this direction in the field of international banking as illustrated by efforts of nations to aid Germany subsequent to the acceptance of President Hoover's proposal for a one-year moratorium of Germany's reparations in July, 1931. Then, and not till then, shall we be able to effect world political union. Meanwhile we can reach, if we believe in this development, an understanding of the worldwide expansion of community as functionally interdependent relationships—economic, social, scientific, cultural, political, judicial, religious, and recreational.

But as community expands spatially and numerically it necessarily increases in complexity of organization. This leads to the diseases of organization already mentioned. Chiefly while it tends to free personality, it also gives opportunity for greater deviations. Hence modern crime and unconventionality.

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**QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION****(Refer to Text Questions)**

1. Of what value is it for teachers in preparation to study primitive communities?
2. What effects do you see in your community due to the loss of the blood-bond basis of obligations?
3. What objections have you to the author's definitions of neighborhood in terms of personal control and community in terms of personal adequacy?
4. What are the educational implications of the definitions and of the social changes indicated thereby?
5. Can a person get along without neighborhoods? Without communities?
6. What is the sociological justification for equalization programs?
7. How can you determine the responsibility of a school to its community?
8. Does community as defined in this chapter coincide with national boundaries or extend how far beyond?

**EXERCISES**

Make a map of your school community showing historical place neighborhoods and functional group areas.

***Book III***  
***Theory and Data***  
***for Policy-making in Schools***





## CHAPTER XVII

### SOME SOCIAL THEORIES IN RELATION TO EDUCATION

IT IS the aim of this chapter to present briefly some sociological theories which have special significance for educational policy and planning.

Up to this point what theory has been presented has been either theory of analytical methods or theory of descriptive definitions of concepts, rather than general theory of conclusions or findings of sociological science.

As any science gathers a body of data and by analysis and comparison draws principles and generalizations, these latter constitute the theory of the science. Social theory should be distinguished from social philosophy in that social theory derives from broad interpretations based upon analysed observations. Whereas, social philosophy is a body of insights which are not grounded upon scientific data.

#### 1. SOCIETAL CONTROL

ONE of the important theories of sociology is that of societal control. This concept has been touched upon at various points in previous chapters, particularly with reference to the ways in which mores determine behavior. Societal control can be given two definitions: 1, the organized technique of society to control its members to keep them *in line* in the interests of social order and social continuity, as we have previously described; 2, the organized efforts of society to control its development and destiny.

Herbert Spencer in applying the theory of organized con-

lution to societal development, conceived a negative philosophy of non-interference with the processes of nature — an attitude of *laissez-faire*, "let things alone," or "mind your own business." Nature works out through evolutionary processes in the animal world as well as in the human sphere, the best adaptations that are needed.

Lester F. Ward in his sociological theory expressed a delicate revolt against Spencer's *laissez-faireism* by contending that in the long reaches of time social adaptations are fairly satisfactorily achieved, but that such processes are wasteful. He, therefore, set up a theory of *know-faire*, "to know how to do," or *faire-marcher*, "to know how to proceed" (melliorism) — an attitude of sufficient understanding of the nature of social forces to enable man to control his emotions and desires by organizing his efforts towards specific objectives.

Through research and the survey can knowledge of man's nature and of social processes be derived and a science of human behavior established. Rom joins Ward in this general theory. In his *Social Control* Rom conceived it possible to manipulate the social processes in order to arrive at desired ends.

#### SOCIETAL TELERIS

IN WARD's hands this theory was named *Societal Teleris*, the means ■ setting up objectives and of directing the social forces toward them. He conceived of the desires and feelings as the social forces, which constituted the energies of man. He pointed out that these feelings and desires, and not ideas, are what impel man to act. The intellect constitutes the directive agent of the social forces, determining just how they would find expression. So, said he, when we can gain reliable knowledge of the social forces and the way they express themselves, we can set up our objectives and then organize our efforts to obtain them. For him the major technic of directing social forces towards desirable ends of human welfare was the enlightenment of opinion through public education that universalizes knowledge.

He strongly advocated that in utilizing knowledge, the principle of attraction should be applied, namely, that pro-

ple should not be forced in educational procedures by punishment, threats, or prohibitions, but should be attracted by rewards. He also saw legislation as an important method of societal engineering. Here too, he advocated attractive rather than punitive measures. The questions for educators are then: (1) Can we control the behavior of human beings? (2) Can we control society by directing its efforts toward specific objectives? (3) Can we control personal behavior?

Many illustrations have been given previously to answer the first and third questions in the affirmative. We know that schools, families, groups, and communities do determine the habits, attitudes, opinions, and ideals of people. We have seen these achievements demonstrated in family life, in our public schools, in churches, in propaganda and advertising. We have seen people's behavior controlled in peace times and still more strikingly in times of war. Whether they liked it or not, men were drafted, trained and sent into the trenches. One could hardly ask for more effective evidence of societal control. We answer the question definitely in the affirmative, that leaders can and do control the behaviors of other people.

The answer to the second question, "Can we control societal efforts in so direct them toward prescribed ends?" is not so sure. Looked at from certain angles societies do seem to be able to agree on collective plans and to look toward their achievement. Witness France in her objective to recapture Alsace Lorraine. Witness Germany in her decades of preparation to withstand the attack of France in retaliation for the defeat of 1871. Witness our own efforts to build up public school systems that would support a national government on democratic principles. Witness the extensive and apparently highly successful efforts of leaders in Italy to create a Fascist society. Or the same for Russia and the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Republics.

And yet, as one takes the long historical view, he is impressed by the fact that in spite of organized efforts and plans, either to develop and maintain types of society or political organization, they fail. Feudalism is gone; monarchy is pas-

ing; capitalism is in the saddle in the Occident, with communism threatening from Russia and familism from the Orient. These conflicts of peoples that typify definite practices, policies, and purposes create a shifting scene as historical events pass before our view.

Nations rise and fall, governments are established only to collapse, so that we wonder in the long run whether or not man is really able to control his destiny. Our answer is that he can. We suggest that his failure has been due to his ignorance of his own nature, of social forces and social processes, of effective methods of social organization and of scientific means of setting up valid objectives.

As social sciences provide a more reliable body of knowledge of those phases of human experience, he can supplant with scientific societal engineering his earlier groping methods of failure and success. Then, as Ward contends, advance can be made with a modicum of social waste. We admit that social experimentation is far more difficult than similar efforts in the natural sciences. But nevertheless, social experiments are being made in many ways every day.

The improving of advertising technique, improvements of teaching methods, the control of public health, and the passing of laws are all forms of social experiment more or less scientific in character. The real difficulty is not so much in conducting social experiments as in evaluating results. Prohibition legislation and enforcement represent a widespread type of social experimentation not strictly controlled in the scientific sense, nevertheless, sufficient to enable us to draw certain conclusions—namely, the evidence so far seems to indicate that under the prevailing conditions the prohibition laws are not enforced. This is shown by the fact that the money spent in the United States on intoxicants has increased as follows:

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment shows expenditures for liquor smuggling from \$1,818,000,000 in 1914 to \$7,848,000,000 in the fiscal year 1929, when they exceeded the value of all automobiles in the United States and almost equalled the receipts of the gasoline industry.

Whereas before the laws were passed people simply argued

whether they wished the laws to operate or not, now they may if they like base their judgments upon objective data.

Other types of *telic* activity which are experimental and represent organized societal efforts to reach established goals are child guidance clinics, community organization, social work, politics and government, public health, school education, town and country planning, scientific legislation, and propaganda.

Shall we muddle along the best we can or shall we try to organize our resources toward the achievement of fixed goals? If educators cannot answer the latter question in the affirmative by developing objective, scientific methods with the help of the social sciences, we might just as well close our schools and spend our educational funds for other purposes.

### A. SOCIETAL PROGRESS

THE concept of progress is in some ways a very ancient one. The early Chinese philosophers had the notion of developmental stages of organic life and of society. The ancient Greeks, particularly *Helvetius*, expressed in poetic form concepts of developmental changes. But progress as we understand it today is really a modern concept growing out of a theory of evolution.

It is a series of developmental changes resulting in greater efficiency in biological and social adaptation. Since Darwin collected and organized the evidence for biological evolution, the concept of progress has been taken up by people generally. Through this vulgarization of the term under the impetus of the notion of stages of development in evolution many fallacies have emerged.

### FALLACIES OF THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

ONE of the worst fallacies of the concept of progress is the notion that it is inevitable, a concept based partly upon religious attitudes of divine direction of human affairs, and partly upon the more recent development of scientific data on evolution. Progress is, therefore, conceived of as a fact; but, is it?

A common confusion is the identification of changes with progress. This should not be done; first, because many changes occur in technological invention and in social adjustment to these inventions, which may be destructive or productive of a larger human scrap-heap, and because the theory of evolution itself takes note of regress as well as progress, and of disintegration as well as organization. Neither evolution nor change necessarily means progress.

Another fallacy is to define progress as increment. People think of the proliferation of the material culture traits and regard the mere increase of number, variety, and complexity of technological inventions as progress. Others speak of progress as an increase in the amount of happiness. How can an increase in the amount of happiness of one or many persons be established without objective norms of measurement? Still others define progress as an increase in the complexity and diversity of institutions. They note that in early times there were relatively few institutions such as the family, maintenance activities, rituals, age classes, secret societies, and the like, and that from these few have developed thousands of different types of activities characteristic of modern cultures.

Or again, people identify progress with an increase of the effectiveness of all social control or the enhancement of morality. Such persons take their clue from the earlier contributions in anthropology which contained many errors both of observation and of record. We know now that contrary to this earlier theory the family was not the only primitive institution, that primitive life was not characterized by license and immorality, but on the contrary, it was strictly regulated at every point. In fact, it would be possible to argue the thesis that before degeneration through contact with Europeans set in primitives were more moral than modern people. Besides, as we noted before, the very relative morality would make proof of progress as increase of morality quite impossible.

Others argue that progress is to be found in the increase of freedom or liberty. They point to the strict regulation of life in primitive societies and contrast therewith the liber-

ties of today, in favor of modern conditions. A moment's reflection on how far one can drive a car as one pleases down the streets of a large city would raise a question as to the validity of such a contention.

To define progress as increment may be highly desirable but we must be measuring something that can be measured if we wish to use "increase" as proof of progress. Progress cannot be defined in terms of "better" because of lack of objective criteria either in the area of mores of gratification ("happiness") or the mores of control ("morality"), for the validity of the mores of gratification or of control are dependent upon the dominant attitudes and values of a people in a certain place at a certain time. What one person calls happiness, another calls misery. What one calls moral, another calls immoral.

There is a possibility of objective determination of advance and betterment in the area of mores of maintenance and mores of perpetuation. Applied science can demonstrate fairly conclusively that new machines can be made which can be called "better" than the old ones because the new machines turn out so many more products in units of time, which can produce so much more profit per annum than the old machines. Or again, the decrease of the death rate or the sickness rate can be taken as an index of changes which are "better." The same may be said of facts concerning food and shelter. With regard to procreative institutions whose function is to perpetuate the race through eugenic control and birth control, breeds of animals and human beings can according to established norms—of intelligence and health and economic efficiency in the case of man—be considered "better." So the concept of increment and greater efficiency is pertinent in the definition of progress only with reference to the activities in which objective norms have been established, namely, maintenance and perpetuation.

So far as scientific sociology is concerned, social progress is as yet incapable of definition, therefore, except in terms of technological results of societal life.

Progress as faith or wishful thinking is possible of any



definition. As such it is a concept of religion and philosophy but not a concept of science nor of scientific ethics. Much of educational theory concerning social progress as a product of education reflects many of the foregoing fallacies. In order to correct our educational objectives and bring them out of the realm of wishful thinking into that of reality, it is important to precise and clarify the concept of social progress.

How can schools contribute to social progress in terms of increase of happiness or increase of morality if we do not know what these phrases mean? Consequently educators commonly through their tricks of magic get out of the philosophical hat anything they want concerning school outcomes. This explains much of the rationalization in educational theory and philosophy.

### 1 SOCIETAL TELICS AS SOCIETAL ADEQUACY

It would seem, therefore, that an objective of social adequacy would be preferable to that of social progress. Social adequacy is the provision for the optimum satisfaction of a maximum number of wishes which harmonize with group welfare. We have not yet precised, except in a few instances (such as compulsory vaccination to prevent epidemics of smallpox), just where the line is to be drawn between personal and social adequacy for at times there is bound to be conflict between the two. If we recognize that this datum line is not a fixed one but is relative to the advance of scientific knowledge we can shift our ethics to keep pace with our needs.

#### MEASURES OF VALUE

FROM this point of view then we may first take the group and its welfare as the measure of life's values. We should attempt to measure collective efficiency in achieving the objectives which a group sets up for itself. Manifestly unless new methods are devised, such measurement will have to be made upon the material culture, though clues for the valuation of spiritual culture can be found in social case work, psychiatric analysis, and confessional documentary materials such as let-

tern, biographies, and the like. From these sources we get expressions from the persons themselves as members of the groups as to how adequate the groups are in securing their avowed objectives.

It is quite apparent therefore that the need of communities and of institutional agencies is the setting-up of evaluable objectives. We cannot determine the efficiency of the group if the objectives that are established are not capable of objective demonstration. We can prove that certain methods in the teaching of reading produce certain results in speed of reading but we cannot prove what the reader's experiences have to do with "happiness." The difficulty at this point is in creating methods of controlling people's feelings. For, if enough people in a community feel aback by the teaching of evolution they can set up as an objective, valid enough to them, to effect the permanent removal of the teaching of evolution from a school curriculum as in Tennessee or Arkansas. About all we can say at this point is that feelings of people must, through education and propaganda, be organized around scientific data and scientific conclusions. In other words feelings must be brought under the control of organized reason and analyzed experience. There is no reason for thinking that methods of measuring the less tangible phases of human experience may not be developed. At that time it will be far easier than at present to set up objectives capable of demonstration.

On the other hand the *person* may be taken as a measure of *life's values*, in which case social adequacy would be defined in terms of personal wish-satisfactions. At this point it would be possible to determine objectively the technological and social changes which provide for increase or variety of wishes, of the increased number of satisfactions of each wish variety, and of the importance of wishes judged by the person himself or collectively by the group to which he belongs. This last method of consensus would be the weakest link in our chain of evidence.

Thirdly, *society* may be taken as the measure of *life's values*. We should then have to determine how far personal adequacy and group adequacy could be carried without in-

terfering with the adequacy of the larger combinations of people that we call societies. These values concerned with securing adequacy would mutually influence one another, the more adequate the group, the more adequate the person — the more adequate the life of the group and the person, the more adequate a society, and vice versa.

It is easy to formulate such propositions but difficult to translate them into precise programs for particular persons, particular groups, or particular communities, but if the general theory is right the need of social engineering is that of applying methods to the precisizing of such programs. If we must retain the concept of social progress, let us then define it as scientific improvement in all the means, and an increase in the amounts of the adequacy of satisfaction of people's wishes. The advantages of this definition are, that it provides for relativity, lessens the danger of wishful thinking, and necessitates creative experience. The chief objection to it is probably that it accepts in a realistic way human life as natural and, therefore, capable of being studied scientifically, which many people are still unwilling to admit.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What support can you give to Ward's protest against Spencer? What to Spencer? In which direction is American education going?
2. Ward's emphasis on knowledge is correct, what of the slogan of the "new education": "Follow the child's interests"?
3. Consider the outcomes of schools—do they support the concept of education as a means of societal control and telicism?

4. Should we rule out "program" as a justification of our public schools?

5. Are the proposed "measures of values" possible? Practicable?

6. Through what forms of education is it possible to harmonize the three proposed "measures"?

#### EXERCISE

Set down the gains and losses in specifically listed social changes and draw a conclusion concerning "program." Then indicate precisely how the public schools contributed to the gains or losses.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *SOCIETAL PROBLEMS*

#### THE STUDY OF SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

**I**F PUBLIC education in the United States is to make the contribution which is expected of it toward the improvement of national life, educators, particularly policy-makers who carry the responsibility of determining objectives and course contents, must base their activities on a thorough knowledge of the societal problems which are pressing for solution today.

These societal problems are numberless. Out of the multitude of specific types one may distinguish certain kinds which are basic to the whole social order or are of peculiar significance to educators. The problems presented in the following discussion are so considered.

In discussing institutions and their interrelations we pointed out that the economic activities of a community possess this basic quality. Schools can make no genuine contribution to community life if they fail to concern themselves with the improvement of the economic activities. Changes in the economic or maintenance mores are inevitable under conditions of modern capitalistic competition. As these changes occur social maladjustments are created, due to the lag that develops between the maintenance activities and the other institutions of a community.

Too often educators have been concerned merely with these other institutions. They have thought that they could effect an improvement of community life by concerning themselves with literature, classics, and other forms of so-called cul-

tural education. Out of our schools and colleges have been graduated hordes of youths who are versed in subjects that orient them not so much in their own social life and problems as in world history and classical civilizations or in the techniques of engineering. The former graduates have found themselves at a great disadvantage in understanding societal movements and societal trends. The engineers have been technical servants of their employers without much appreciation of the social significance or community worth of the services they render. Being trained in specific techniques they perform these with relative efficiency and are content to receive their incomes and to accept the general order of things.

It is not our present purpose to attempt a complete analysis of the economics of American life or to suggest a program of vocational education looking toward economic efficiency. But if we wish to integrate our schools with community needs by contributing through them directly and indirectly to goals of social improvement, we shall first need some appreciation of the deficiencies in our present economic activities.

Most people today regard our economic life as quite satisfactory. This attitude is probably due to the fact that American capitalist organizations have enjoyed unusual prosperity. While giving all due credit to the managers and technicians we must note, however, that there are other conditions also that have caused this prosperity: such as a pioneer environment, private property, exploitation of natural resources made possible through generous governmental franchises and concessions to exploiters, an increasing population, our laws of incorporation, urbanization, expansion of transportation and communication facilities, world trade, and wars. This prosperity has been so great that much of it has spilled over upon the rank and file of our population who have been grateful for the additional crumbs that fell from the capitalist table in the form of automobiles, radios, or silk stockings and silk shirts.

Teachers and administrators under these conditions cannot be criticized too severely for maintaining attitudes of

complacent acceptance of our economic practices, for these are readily absorbed from the social atmosphere we breathe. Besides, the ramifications of the economics of community life are so numerous, widespread, complex, and subtle that their characteristics have been clarified only by penetrating analysis, amply illustrated by the contributions of Thorstein Veblen, particularly his *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; *The Theory of Business Enterprise*; *The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts*; *The Instinct of Workmanship*.

The general conclusion of the special commission appointed by President Hoover to study recent economic trends in the United States was that there have been no significant changes in the essential character of our economic practices and organizations. The one great change discovered has been in a tremendous speeding up of industrial production and in distribution of goods. Therefore, we might say that our economic organization is technically efficient in the production and distribution of goods. But do we need all these goods that are produced, if under modern industrial conditions of standardized production the supply greatly surpasses the demand? Either we must cut down the supply by halting production or increase the demand by advertising and salesmanship. With our individualistic attitudes and our notions of prosperity we have pursued the latter policy and, therefore, have over-sold our population through the installment of the partial payment plan.

To sell goods produced primarily for profit in the industrialism and thus to keep the factories going on installment salesmanship subordinates industry to the sales division of the enterprise and builds an economic structure with only apparent solidity, because the foundations are based upon credits that are not questionable. Things go along well enough until a period of depression when the multitudes who have bought without money by mortgaging their future incomes are unable to pay when their wages are cut off through unemployment. These conditions tend to further the economic depression.

Two defects of our present economic system are over-

production and over-selling. These defects are quite sufficient in their influence on societal adequacy to raise questions concerning the perfection of our present economic organization. Another defect is the trend toward over-concentration of wealth. But quite apart from these defects, and in spite of the report on recent economic changes, we may challenge our complacency concerning our economic system because of the mechanism reached in the report of an earlier investigation on industrial wastes which are readily translated into societal wastes.

### 2. INDUSTRIAL WASTE

ONE of the outstanding defects of our modern system of industry is waste. The Federated American Engineering Societies published a report on *Waste in Industry*. They found four major causes of waste: low production, interrupted production, restricted production, and lost production. Their analysis of conditions revealed that the responsibilities for these causes could be reasonably laid to the door of the managers to the extent of 50%, to labor slightly less than 25%, and to others in the community such as consumers—the remainder. For the last, by analyzing the key industries separately, they found that the responsibilities varied from 9% to 40%, with people generally carrying the largest responsibility in the textile industries. This was due to seasonal work which was accounted for by changes in fashion. "Fashion wears out more apparel than the man." Little does the average teacher realize that, in her efforts to keep up with fashions in spite of her modest income, how much she with others contributes to industrial waste, unemployment, and poverty.

Stuart Chase in his *The Tragedy of Waste*,\* the tragedy of 120,000,000 people in the United States, concluded that in America today the minimum ratio of man-power waste amounts to 50%. This represents a total waste of 40,500,000 man-power units out of an able-bodied population of 80,500,000. Of these 40,500,000 units are going into vicious and useless production—drugs, narcotics, and patent

\* Macmillan 1923.



medicines; 6,000,000 units are sold on a given working day on account of strikes and lockouts; 4,000,000 units are wasted in production methods because of the lack of technical research in factories; and 1,500,000 units are wasted in distribution methods due to duplication of wholesale and retail facilities. The natural resources wasted cannot be transmuted into figures, but in oil alone one billion barrels are lost annually. What, then, of our vaunted efficiency? Should educators be concerned about (1) a popular appreciation of such conditions and (2) the contributions of schools to the reduction of such wastes?

#### ELIMINATION OF WASTES

Since the major responsibility belongs to management, which is the owning and technical part of industry — and the most highly schooled — we must look to it for the major improvement. First, comes research and the improvement of engineering techniques which are matters for our higher institutions of learning, our technical schools that should provide broader training in the social sciences so that engineers can appreciate the relations of their work to societal welfare, and industrial research laboratories. Nothing can be done through our public schools on these problems beyond giving some appreciation to high school pupils of the conditions noted.

Another remedy is budgeting. We are familiar with budgeting of expenses but not with budgeting of production. Statisticians can readily and fairly accurately inform us of the amount of goods needed for a year's consumption in suits of clothes, shoes, hats, automobiles, and so on for thousands of articles. The jewelry industry through its national organization already budgets its production. Why is this not commonly done? Because of our industrial anarchy industrialists shy at being controlled for fear of losing some possible profits. Both finances and production must be budgeted in order to eliminate over-production and duplication, which create the pressure to unload the over-supply through high-power salesmanship.

A third method is standardization. Herbert Hoover, when

Secretary of the Interior, through the Department of Commerce, did effective work by getting a number of manufacturers to agree on a series of standardized products in order to eliminate wastes from badly adapted types or too great variations. Much has been achieved under the normal conditions of industrial and business competition in standardizing factory equipment and production processes so as to create goods as cheaply as possible.

Management has already begun the use of improved methods in dealing with factory workers—personnel. More care is being exercised in selection of employees and in fitting them to jobs as well as shifting workers within a factory from certain occupations on which they fail to others on which they can succeed. When through technical improvements unemployment threatens some workers, progressive employers train them for new and different jobs. Hiring and firing of the sort common to American industry because of an over-supply of labor must go.

The installation of safety devices to prevent accidents and the retention of experienced employees on the job have come about in some cases through legal compulsion and in others by voluntary action of the management in the interests of economy of production. The prevention of sickness has frequently been effected for the same reasons by creating industrial health units within the factories—industrial clinics, industrial hospitals, industrial nursing, and the like.

But without question one of the most important improvements, not generally accepted by industrialists but already tried in certain instances, is employee participation in management. This is industrial democracy, and apart from workers' efforts to increase wages or improve conditions and hours of labor represents their great struggle for a respectable status.

#### ORGANIC THEORY OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

AN ANALYSIS of any industry reveals the following specialized functions: finance, management, engineering, labor, and consumption. If the industry lack any one of these it cannot

carry on. How then can one be considered more important than another? Each is important in its own right because of its peculiar contribution to the total enterprise. Shall the heart say to the lungs, "I am more important than thou"?

But as things are in American industry "finance" holds practically complete control. Management and engineering have indirectly some influence on the boards of directors who are the financiers with sometimes managers or technicians included. But labor is considered as having no rights to representation on the board of control on the theory that it has nothing at stake as do the investors. In view of the facts we cannot have a satisfactory organization of the control of industry until all functions are duly represented. Now "consumption" is represented only through government regulation, if any, and indirectly through buying power. Labor is ground between the upper and nether millstones of high dividends for investors and low prices for consumers with only such considerations as have been wrested by collective bargaining from "the powers that be."

To give labor a place on the board of control is to recognize an obligation more vital than to give investors representation because labor cannot be diverted from the laborer as capital can be separated from the capitalist. When the laborer loses his labor he loses his wherewithal and endangers or loses his life, when the capitalist loses his capital he still has more or at least has favored position. Besides, the point of view and co-operation of labor are necessary for the direction of industry.

Democratic participation provides workers with a sense of status, a feeling of security, attitudes of personal responsibility, and initiative. The chief objection is that workers are not stable elements since there is a constant turnover of the workers, and because laborers are not educated to the problems of industrial management. What about the turnover of stock ownership? What do stockholders know about the business? Workers, like stockholders, would have to select those capable of representing them. Judged by the statistics on waste neither the managers nor the owners show too great knowledge or intelligence. They can scarcely

pretend to a corner on it. Some workers and labor leaders in their public utterances reveal a knowledge of economics and industrial technology neither better nor worse than some financiers and managers. As financiers are on the boards ■ control in represent finance, let them represent finance, but not all the other elements of industry as well. They are the best representatives of finance but not of labor nor engineering. Knowing that, they invite the engineers in or read their reports: but how often is labor consulted?

Other improvements besides democratization of industry are: the improvement of efficiency of labor on the job, standardizing processes, care against accident and developing *esprit de corps*, the control of credit with which industry is financed through the bankers and shareholders and limitation of speculation; consumers' co-operatives to eliminate unnecessary distributors<sup>2</sup>; governmental assistance in regulation of unscrupulous business practices, aids in research and publicity, assistance in settling disputes, leadership in health, safety, employment, and standardization, particularly the control of Giant Power, legislation for the regulation of transportation facilities; and finally an engineering profession free from a slavery to owners of industry. The difficulty about depending upon governmental assistance is that in time through financing political campaigns and getting their own men elected the financiers are the government. They stack the regulatory commissions, courts, and other bodies and get judgments in their favor. The only real solutions are limitations of profits and democratic representation on boards of control, for labor being also the major consumer, speaking broadly for a national economy, is then in a position strategically to advance the interests of most people concerned. At least labor representation might supply some brakes to the madness of bankers and shareholders who clamor for interest and larger dividends.

<sup>2</sup> In 1850 there were 4 producers to each distributor, in 1900, there was 1 producer to each distributor.

## 3. WEALTH AND INCOME

What happens to profits of industry? Are they distributed in the various elements in a reasonably fair proportion? Without question the data show that the financiers in control in time by direct and indirect methods take the lion's share.\* A few facts from which the student may make partial inductions concerning our economic trends are:

*Statistics of Income for 1928*, Bureau of Internal Revenue, U. S. Treasury Department: 67 persons in 1921 who reported incomes of \$1,000,000 or more; in 1928 there were 511 persons so reporting (p. 29); 331 in 1926; 285 in 1927; and a gain of 128 such persons in 1928 alone.

A former president of the American Economic Association estimated that the crash in Wall Street in 1929-1930 shifted from eight to ten per cent of the total wealth in America from those who had little to those who had much. "To him that hath shall be given . . ."

Two estimates of ownership of wealth in the United States are:

The "Rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 62 per cent of the wealth.

The "Middle Class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

The "Poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 3 per cent of the wealth . . . *Monthly Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations*.

In 1926†

1 per cent of population owned 33% of wealth

10 per cent of population owned 84% of wealth.

Poorest 45 per cent owned 3% of wealth

1 per cent of population received 20% of income

10 per cent of population received 40% of income.

Poorest 45 per cent received 3% of income

\* *Distribution of National Income in 1928*

Wages . . . . .	89,000,000,000
Salaries . . . . .	17,000,000,000
Profits and compensation to employed persons . . . . .	1,000,000,000
Share of entrepreneurs (owners) . . . . .	90,000,000,000

Origines of National Income as well published by the National Bureau of Economic Research and quoted in *Monthly Labor Review* V. 30 371-372.

† *Texaco, N. America's Way Out*.

Normally there are in the United States at least two millions of unemployed persons capable of working. During periods of depression the number is multiplied two to six times; in the summer of 1931 the estimate was between eight and twelve millions of unemployed persons.

There was as much wheat in the world that it could not be sold for what it cost to produce; there were tens of millions of people begging for bread and a chance to work to buy bread. That, too, in the summer of 1931.

The minimum budget for a family of five to maintain a subsistence, not a comfort level, is \$1800 annually, or \$84.80 a week. In 1917 the workers who came nearest to this standard were in the Iron and Steel industry with a weekly income of \$54.18. Twenty-five industries in the United States provided a weekly income of \$37.22; in 1929, it was \$27.48; in 1930, it had dropped to \$25.43.\* Farmers' labor incomes lie between \$400 and \$1000, for different parts of the country, or an average of about \$600 a year.† This the cash income is estimated at about \$300 with farm supplies for family support estimated at about \$400‡ In 1920 the average monthly wage of hired men on farms in the United States was \$64.95 without board and \$46.89 with board.§

Do the foregoing facts indicate fair or unfair distribution of the profits of industry? If an industry does not or cannot provide its workers with subsistence or comfort levels of income, what is it worth to a community? How is the difference made up? If by charity, what are the effects upon the people who receive such aid? Are these problems of any concern to education?

#### POVERTY AND THE "SUBMERGED TENTH"

As poverty is relative to tastes and habits and incomes, the poverty line is hard to determine. People suffer from poverty when they have insufficient money to buy the necessities of food, clothing, shelter, medical service, and minimum pleas-

\* Myers, H. B. "Earnings," *A. J. S.*, 36: 923-924.

† 1919-1920 the reward for labor per farm family was \$217; 1927-1928 it was \$257. Bean, L. H., "Recent Trends in Farm Income," *The Social*, 1928, 1-4.

‡ Farm laborers' monthly earnings in 1929 were \$22.50 and in 1930, \$24.50. Myers, H. B. *A. J. S.*, 36: 923-924.

ures. They suffer poverty when the fear of falling into this condition haunts them even though for the time being they may be meeting absolute needs from their incomes. Families fall into poverty when circumstances are unfavorable—death, sickness, unemployment—and rise out of poverty during periods of industrial expansion and prosperity—as in war time.

But always there are enough of the population below the poverty line who must be aided by charitable relief agencies to prove the existence even today of that "tenth" of the population traditionally known as "submerged." Let those who say we have wiped out our city slums and eliminated poverty and pauperism in this country look at facts and conditions a little more closely before they swell with pride.

#### CAUSES OF POVERTY

THE CONDITIONS that tend to create poverty and pauperism are many. Among explanations of poverty we rule out first the two ancient conceptions that poverty is divine punishment for innate depravity or for personal sin. If it is a matter of blame than all of us are involved in one way or another.

Of the complex causes some personal, some societal, some more important, some less, we may list:

Deficiencies of body or mind including insanity, sickness, intemperance, old age, and death of the breadwinner; social disorganization including broken families—divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, strikes, riots, wars, and crime; overpopulation through natural increase or through immigration or excessive concentration of population at certain points, and large families; economic and industrial organization with its wastes, unbalanced distribution of profits, concentration of wealth, unemployment, accidents, resistance to legal justice and governmental alleviation, political control and exploitation of natural resources; personal habits due to ignorance or poor education or unfavorable environmental influences leading to wasteful and exhausting behavior and unwise expenditure; improper legislation such as taxing poor people out of all proportion to taxes paid by wealthy persons; and finally unwise charity or other remedial efforts.

**REMEDIAL MEASURES TAKEN AND PROPOSED**

THE evil effects of outdoor relief, piousness, overcare of the county poor have been attacked by newer methods of scientific charity that aims to give immediate aid but to follow up such relief with preventive rehabilitation. These are professional techniques furnished by social case workers in the organized charities of the country and city districts. But educators, though they should turn their relief efforts over to specialists trained for the task, can make important contributions in the preventive measures: the furtherance of a selective birth rate and of family limitation, establishment of government free employment agencies and strict regulation and inspection of all private agencies, support of efforts at economic reorganization and a more sane distribution of income through wages, steeply graded income taxes, and heavy inheritance taxes, conservation of natural resources, improvement of school and adult education, elimination of war, advancement of public health, and social insurance including old age, sickness, unemployment and death insurance, and finally social legislation.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF ECONOMIC INADEQUACY**

Economic inadequacy is important because in one way or another it is basic to all our social ills. Poverty brings on its train ■ malnutrition, sickness, mortality, crime, bad housing, social injustice, ignorance, and a thousand and one other social shortages. For example, the death rate of babies whose fathers earn less than \$10 a week is 258 per thousand, of those whose fathers earn \$15 or more a week, 84 per thousand. In our cities from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed. One-third of the population of the United States is housed in quarters below a minimum standard and one-fourth lives in places positively dangerous and degenerative. But why multiply statistics? If we want to improve life to make it more adequate, the place to begin is in the matter of justice of economic distribution so that families may live in city and country on the comfort level of existence, which by government estimate is at least \$2000 a year



for a family of five. If capitalism cannot provide this relatively decent standard of living, then we must find a new way of maintenance.

#### 4. INADEQUATE LIVING CONDITIONS

Various factors produce housing conditions unfavorable to optimum child growth. Over-congestion in living conditions (there are twice as many people living in Negro Harlem, New York City, as the apartments were built to accommodate) prohibits privacy and accentuates conflicts, immoralities, and social disorganizations, correlates with unsanitary conditions and high sickness rates—except where special public health measures are provided to offset the effects of bad housing—and poverty. Land and residences are exploited primarily for private profit and not administered for family or general welfare. This is true in country and city, for the poor of either area are condemned to live in unfavorable conditions. City residences are not improved because the cost of such improvement would increase rents and poor people cannot now pay the rents demanded. The conditions vary in the different natural areas of city or country: slum area, lodging house area, tenement area, apartment house area, hotel area, single residence area. In large cities millions of people not only live so congested that they are frequently without neighbors but they are under constant severe strains of city noises and the rapid pace in competition as well as in transportation to and from work. More and more "home" in city and country is losing its ancient meaning and becoming a place for cheap or free food and lodging.

#### HOUSING REFORM

IMPROVEMENTS in housing are proceeding very haltingly in present because we still sacrifice family welfare and child growth to profits of landlordism. For fear of municipal government competing with private exploitation we let our children suffer for lack of sunlight, air, and decent privacy. But from time to time we have had legislative specification of the minima of housing for residences indicating space, light, heat, sanitation, air, and the like. These norms have been

applied in new structures but many of our cities have millions of "homes" untouched by such standards and our countryside is blighted with slacks of croppers, tenants, and others without ever a county or state inspector to look them over. Public housing commissions have provided some relief by enforcing laws through investigation and inspection and co-operation with bureaus of public welfare; and courts have more recently been inclined to favor renters as against landlords in administering emergency laws of rent relief. Co-operative housing\* has been tried with some success and limited-dividend corporations made up of public-spirited citizens have done well.

#### TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

City or country planning is "simply the exercise of such foresight as will promote the orderly and right development of a city and its environs along rational lines, with due regard to health, amenity, and convenience and for commercial and industrial advancement"† Planning rests upon a regional survey to discover probable future trends in population, traffic, uses of land, occupations, recreations, and the like—to get at a general estimate of future development upon which to base the best blue-print of growth. Areas most suitable, on account of economic and social reasons, for particular uses are marked off and limited to such uses. Then business cannot creep into the midst of private single residences; and when they are allowed the shops built must conform to minimum standards of beauty and construction.

By widening roads, building bridges, subways, electric railways along strategic lines, planning makes it possible for many people to work in cities but live in garden-plot suburbs where a real neighborhood becomes the basis of social organization and life may proceed at a more quiet and leisurely pace. Some industries are moving into rural areas so as to secure cheaper overhead and better living conditions for workers. In rural regions county and state roads are laid

\* Of 40 co-operative home ownership societies known to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 38 are in Brooklyn and New York and 2 in Wisconsin. U. S. *Mo. Labor Review*, 23 457-461.

† Lewis, quoted by Bush, *U. S., Town Planning for Small Communities*, p. 7.

out not only for utility but for beautification as well. In Connecticut the cut-offs of old highways are parked and planted and made available for tourist resting. Many of our main highways out of great cities are parked for ten to fifty miles into the country. Road associations plant roadsides, schoolyards, and homes with flowers, shrubs, and trees. Billboards are either prohibited entirely or made to satisfy certain standards of beauty (?). There is a growing appreciation of adapting architecture to the locale, its spirit and history—colonial type in New England, adobe and Spanish renaissance in the Southwest. Various arrangements of houses on lots increase the space between, improve appearance, and lend variety though it inevitably reduces profits of the builder who aims to get top prices for standardized houses row on row. Little wonder that life becomes stunted and dull when we let ourselves be arranged in life like dead ones in a cemetery. America seems to be waking up to improvements in housing, both utilitarian and artistic. Every village, town, city, and country should have its planning commission to eliminate the wilderness of modern civilization. To this end schools may begin at their front doors, but better still, in their halls and classrooms.

### 5. FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

WHAT about the families who live in these houses? Are there evidences of inadequacy of family life? Desertion, divorce, legal separation, domestic quarrels that reach the courts, non-marriage—*anagamy*, illegal sex relations and unmarried motherhood, prostitution, decrease of birth rate and small families, dependency, widowhood, and sickness have been stressed by various investigators as indicating family disorganization or tendencies toward lower standards. Many writers have confused the issues and complicated solutions of problems of family adjustment. Some of these conditions may be considered as advances; others are not the ills but the symptoms of more fundamental maladjustments and inadequacies of domestic or other institutions—such as divorce, desertion and separation, domestic infelicity, *anagamy*, unmarried motherhood, and prostitution. The real evils so

indicated are: hasty and improper marriages; ignorance of sex, of personality, and of homemaking and child care; societal standards that derive from tradition rather than modern biological and social science; legal compulsions and marital ideals of ownership; economic inadequacy; lack of birth control, and compulsory motherhood in marriage.

Conditions that are not necessarily evils are family limitation, the changing environment of the modern family due to transfer of production from the home to factory under the industrial revolution, and the increase of economic opportunities for women so that they are no longer compelled to get a permanent meal ticket through marriage. They now may not only seek their own support but also follow their own careers as desirable forms of self-expression. Still other conditions are political enfranchisement, expanded educational opportunities particularly in the higher institutions of learning and professional schools, feminism, especially as it represents a revolt of women against male control—though unfortunately many women have interpreted this masculine protest as aping men instead of being themselves and making whatever contributions are distinctive of women, and the participation of women in the conduct of war as munition makers, nurses, food producers—proving thereby that they could do many things that previously were considered beyond the strength or ability of women—all of which have influenced family life and status of women in a variety of ways but generally toward freedom from old conceptions and ideas.

Women today are seeking more commonly a social status in their own right as personalities not merely as adjuncts to husbands or fathers. Their refusal to accept many of the older impositions and restraints of family life do, nevertheless, have certain disintegrating effects upon family unity and solidarity. Some condemn these movements and tendencies outright; others consider them the inevitable wastes and maladjustments incident to advance along these lines. Clearly we are in a transition stage: not from family to no family or "free love" as it is called, but let us hope from older norms of family relations to newer conceptions of status of equality for all members, husband, wife, and children.

## PROPOSED REMEDIES FOR FAMILY LIFE

ONE of the most needed methods for improvement is more scientific study of family institutions and their effects on the personalities of those involved, with an eye to the contributions of biology, medicine, psychiatry, and sociology; sociological clinics for family adjustment and courts of domestic relations can give assistance to people incapable of analyzing their own difficulties objectively; federal marriage and divorce laws in order to make them uniform, and ease divorce on the theory that only then could marriage be made a permanent courtship and free from attitudes of possession and control; stricter requirements for licensing of marriages so that the parties would meet newer standards of education, health, eugenic qualifications, vocational capacity, personality normality — conditions essential to successful marriage from both the personal and societal points of view; sex education including selection of suitable and desirable mates, procreation, parenthood, and child care; control of vice and prostitution — though complete success here may never be possible, for prostitution is a very ancient evil; propaganda for higher ideals of sex relations so as to aim at respect rather than exploitation; control and spacing of births; separate residence and the single standard of sex morality for both men and women, and the revision of laws on unmarried motherhood which prevent stigmatize innocent children and do not prevent illegitimacy, and finally the substitution of realistic rational norms for traditional fictitious norms of behavior in sex relations and family life.

While family disorganization occurs in all socio-economic levels, its incidence varies with natural areas of social organization. It is greater in cities than in country districts, and in hotel and gold coast areas than in suburban or single residence areas; but slum areas show high rates of desertion, which is the poor man's divorce. Therefore, improvements in economic adequacy bear upon possible improvements at least for the lower and middle classes where economic stringency enters into marital maladjustment.

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† 4¢ ad.

‡ 2¢ ad.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what specific ways can schools contribute to improvement of economic conditions of pupils?
2. Analyze the effects upon pupils' activities in schools of defective economic status (poverty).
3. What criticisms can you offer against the organic theory of production and distribution?
4. What elements in a community can be expected to resist economic reorganization?
5. When judged by measures of the majority of workers what value do you place upon present factory organization and policy? What about farms? Where are the advantages under our present wage-system?
6. Does education in itself give workers higher wages? If not, how does it indirectly contribute toward higher wages?
7. In what ways does public education socialize wealth? Why are working classes not satisfied with this?
8. What relations exist between low income, inadequate living conditions, and pupil efficiency?
9. Are the average salaries of teachers in public schools sufficient to provide satisfactory social status?
10. How can teachers contribute toward the lessening of family disorganization?

## EXERCISES

1. Write a case known to you of a pupil from a home of low economic status who was unable to progress in school because of economic handicap. The same for one who under the above conditions did advance satisfactorily. Account for the difference.
2. Trace the relations of our economic system to the status of elementary school teachers in a specific community.

## CHAPTER XIX

### SOCIAL PROBLEMS (Continued)

#### ■ INADEQUATE CHILD CARE

**A**CCORDING to the 1920 census 10.9% of the total population of the United States were children under five years of age and 20.8% were children from five to fourteen years inclusive—a total of 31.7% of the population under fifteen years of age. In 1910 this figure was 33.1% and in 1900, it was 34.3%, showing a decrease of 2.7% in two decades. Of the rural population in 1920, 45.8% were under twenty years of age; the decade showed a decrease in the proportion of children in rural districts. Those under one year amounted to 2.1% of the total population.

The birth rate (natality) has decreased as follows: 1913—25.1, 1915—25.0; 1917—24.7; 1918—24.6, 1919—22.3.\* The decrease is mainly in cities with native-born parents and among the well-to-do.

As for the death rate (mortality) we may note that the average number of children born in 1919 to each native mother was 3.2, the average number surviving was 2.8, a loss of one child to nearly every two mothers. The rates are double for Negroes as compared to Whites. The total rates have been decreasing and show incredible improvement from conditions in England where as late as 1761 as many as 50% of the population died before the age of twenty. The first month and the first year are the most dangerous; in 1920 in the birth registration area the rate for infants was 124 per

\* Birth rate per 1000 of population:

1920 . . . . .	23.7	1921 . . . . .	22.7
1927 . . . . .	22.6	1928 . . . . .	22.3

Frank, L. K., "The Child," *A. J. S.*, 25, 1920-1921.



1000 of population; in 1920 it fell to 95.7 per 1000. The rate varies with economic status, being lower for rich people, and according to occupation, with implications as to conditions of living. The dangerous diseases are mainly respiratory in February and gastro-intestinal in August.

The causes of infant and child mortality may be divided into prenatal and postnatal factors. The prenatal factors are occupational poisoning — plumbism, excessive child bearing, alcoholism, poor physical equipment, syphilis, poverty and malnutrition, overwork, parental ignorance, illegitimacy. The postnatal factors are improper birth, midwifery, and medical malpractice (as many as 14% of births studied in *A Health Survey of 86 Cities* were delivered by midwives), bad feeding, unsanitary conditions, parental ignorance of child care, poverty, negligence of parents, accidents at and after birth, inadequate quarantine against communicable diseases, illegitimacy. Because some of these deaths eliminate a certain number of defectives and because they tend to keep down the population, they may not be entirely deplored, especially when such children are saved the burdens of poverty, sickness, helplessness, and other forms of suffering. But they also represent a sheer waste of maternal resources, besides the loss of normal and capable children who would be assets to any community.

■ Those who successfully pass the early dangerous ages five types of handicapped children challenge our best efforts at control: "dependent" children, "neglected" children, "defective" children, "delinquent" children, and "exploited" children.\*

#### DEPENDENT CHILDREN

DEPENDENT children are those who suffer from poverty and who are homeless. In 1925 there were over 200,000 children

\* "There is no average child. Every child is an individual [sic]. Of the 45,000,000 children under 18 in the U. S., 20,000,000 are abnormal or subnormal. In elementary schools 450,000 are mentally retarded, but only 50,000 are cared for in special classes; 675,000 present behavior problems, but only 10,000 are in special schools, 50,000 are partly blind, only 5,000 are provided for. There are but 18,000 deaf or partly deaf children attended to out of a total of 5,000,000."

E. C. Browne at N. E. A., 54th Annual Convention, quoted in *Time*, July 19, 1991.

cared for in institutions or by children's agencies, so that the actual number could safely be doubled. Dependency arises from inadequate incomes of parents, sickness of parents, widowhood, death of both parents, abandonment, and desertion of the mother by the father. In such cases the community is responsible to give these children opportunity for normal growth. But how have we discharged such responsibilities? By founding hospitals poorly administered and without investigation of cases, baby-farms where undernourishment and death take high tolls. More recently efforts have been made to bring such institutions under public supervision. Widows' pensions, mothers' aid, and the searching out of deserters by police and social workers are better methods because they are based on the principle of keeping mother and child together wherever possible. The foundling asylums and almshouses have given way in better practice to special institutions for children with emphasis upon cottage residence and small groups rather than the jail-like structures and lock-step organization of the former. But in spite of the improvements of child-caring institutions, the very best practice is child-placing, though its success rests upon careful selection of placement homes and constant supervision by social workers. Not infrequently this leads to outright adoption. In either placement or adoption the child must be carefully protected against exploitation.

#### NEGLECTED CHILDREN

NEGLECTED children are frequently dependent, illegitimate, exploited, or delinquent. For the country as a whole there are from 300,000 to 400,000 specifically neglected children. A neglected child has been defined as:

1. A child who is abandoned and who may not support himself lawfully
2. One who is living with vicious, immoral, disreputable, or criminal persons
3. One who is allowed to grow up in idleness, crime, vice
4. One whose home is unfit because of depravity or cruelty
5. One who begs or receives alms

■ One who does not get from parents proper remedial care

7. One who is in need of special care as for mental defect

8. One whose environment is such as to warrant the state in assuming guardianship

9. One who is illegally or unfavorably occupied

10. One who is born out of wedlock and may not support himself lawfully.

Many more forms may be added to those defined by the Connecticut Commission on Child Welfare—and as our knowledge of child personality increases many more must be added; but these board suggest norms that teachers may apply with confidence because they are backed by law and by social work practice. Efforts to overcome such neglect have been through courts and through private agencies for the prevention of cruelty to children which aim by family rehabilitation or by placement to protect the child.

The type of neglect that is of greatest import to the teacher is that in education and health: 11 8% of the children of the country are not attending school, and of those who are attending grammar grades only 4% finish, while of those in high schools only 8% finish. It is fair to say that rural children suffer far more from neglect and lack of opportunity than city children. Consider the one-room, one-teacher rural school against the well-equipped city or consolidated school. There are 40,000 of the former and they will be with us for some time to come. Attendance is distinctly lower in these schools and their incidence correlates with areas of highest illiteracy. What is child neglect is implied in the fact that the 1920 census reported 5,000,000 people over 10 years of age who were illiterate—6% of the population. The states showing lowest attendance (1920 census) were: Louisiana, Georgia, Arizona, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Virginia, and Tennessee; the ten states showing the greatest percentage of illiteracy were: Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, New Mexico, Georgia, Arizona, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee—the lists are identical in seven states as to high illiteracy and low school attendance: Louisiana, Georgia, Arizona, Mississippi,

Alabama, Virginia, and Tennessee. In these states child neglect applies mostly to Negroes, but white children suffer too. However, 17 states have neglected children, insufficient attendance, and more or less illiteracy. The South has conditions accentuated by economic retardation but as a surplus economy and new ideals of social work are developed, better care of children has been achieved, as evidenced by recent improvements in North Carolina.

Neglect of child health is shown by examinations that disclose physical defects among 72% of children in urban schools and 87% in rural schools; six million suffer from malnutrition, 52.4% of all dead persons become so under two years of age; 2/3 of the total cases are due to diseases or accidents with disease the major cause — of the ear, about 25% of the cases; of the body, scarlet fever (11.1%), meningitis (9.5%), catarrh, measles, typhoid fever, colds, malarial fever, and influenza. And what child tragedy in blindness! ■ more than 70,000 blind persons in the United States, whose social cost is estimated at \$31,000,000. 28.4% have become so through diseases of the eye — trachoma, glaucoma, and *ophthalmia neonatorum* (birth blindness). All that is needed to prevent ■ is last type is a drop of natrium of silver in each eye immediately after birth, and yet there are parents who consider it an insult if the doctor proposes such precaution, which should be taken in every case without exception.

#### DEFECTIVES

■ ADDITION to physical deficiencies of deafness and blindness, already presented in connection with neglect, there are deficiencies of glands which sometimes reduce severely the normal capacities of a child, as in cretinism; or loss of limbs — the crippled child — which may be congenital or from diseases, especially tuberculosis of the bones, cardiac diseases, rickets, infantile paralysis, or accidental in connection with play or work.

There are no complete statistics on crippled children, but estimates of all cripples amount to over 600,000 persons for the country as a whole, industrially incapacitated, and another million and a half cripples still able to work.

To reduce work accidents industrial safety measures, employers' liability, and legal specifications of age levels of child work have been utilized. But children's compensation for industrial accidents in spite of its beginning is a loud speaker for our cynical social policy that puts profits above human welfare.

The greatest source of play accident is the automobile. Inadequate play space in our cities drives children on to the streets where various modes of transportation, especially motor trucks and cars, take their huge toll of death and injury. Far more people are killed or injured in this way than in either war or industry, dangerous as both of these are. A man, woman, or child is killed or crippled in an automobile accident practically every minute of the day somewhere in the United States.

Greater care in operating cars, more police supervision of children on the streets, regular governmental inspection of cars and trucks, and better provision of playgrounds—cutting off streets from traffic when necessary—will reduce child accidents from this source. For the others, medical and surgical care are the firm needs with special education when necessary.

#### MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Mental deficiency refers to those who, no matter what their chronological age, have a mental development corresponding to that of a normal child one to two years old (idiotcy), or two to seven years (imbecility), or eight years to normal (morosity). These levels of defect can be reasonably satisfactorily established for the idiot, imbecile, or low-grade moron, but are open to question as to the upper levels of morosity and normality because the I.Q. tests are not sufficiently reliable to fix the marginal levels with reference to innate ability. For the latter mental defect is a relative term since it is determined by one's ability to use culture tools of adjustment to typical culture situations. Culture varies in social situations—plans of the Southwest or New York City—and personal mastery varies and conditions of efficiency in testing vary. The methods now used may be considered

sufficiently reliable to detect the idiot, the imbecile, and the low-grade moron. He is noted in passing that there is no such thing as "feeble-mindedness"; there are mental deficiencies.

Much has been written on heredity as the chief cause of mental defect or of genius. According to the laws of Mendelian inheritance if mental defect appears in ancestral generations it will appear in descendant generations in definite ratios. Case studies have shown that actually this tends to be true. Tredgold claimed that as many as 90% of mental defectives resulted from morbid states of ancestors transmitted to offspring. But the modes of transmission of specific defects are uncertain, and defects may tend to breed out, so that Ferrard claimed that as many as one-half of all cases of mental defect are non-hereditary and possess most desirable social traits. It is safe to hold that heredity accounts mainly for idiots and imbeciles.

Other causes of mental defects are brain diseases, injuries, disorders of the ductless glands, and malnutrition.

The extent of mental defect of all ages amounts to 2% of the total population, or approximately 700,000 children.\* The social costs of such widespread incidence of permanent childhood are tremendous. In money alone, for the care of institutional cases of all ages which are mainly hereditary, New York State has been spending annually for the 8000 in institutions, \$1,800,000. It has been estimated that there are at least 200,000 in that state for whom institutional care is needed which would cost \$18,000,000 annually for maintenance and \$54,000,000 for equipment. There are other social costs in delinquency and disease. Healy claims there is no necessary relationship between "feeble-mindedness" and delinquency. Investigations have shown that in general prison populations reveal capacities like those of the population outside; but it remains true that mental defect in institutions and prisons runs the proportions sometimes high

\* According to Popover, P. it is 2% of the population of the U. S. or about 5,000,000 persons. *Year. of Juvenile Research*, 15: 27-282 (1926). Farnham, R. in his *Subnormal Testing* (1927) claims that the percentage lies between 1 and 2 when "feeble-minded" means an I. A. of 2-5 or lower or an I. Q. of 60 or lower. If the I. Q. is taken as 70 then the percentage runs as 2.

because the less capable are more readily caught; that is, such people are *unfortunates* of normal or capable criminals or of circumstances. Not more than 10% of criminal offenders are seriously defective mentally, but they cost much in crime, illegitimacy—80% of unmarried mothers are mentally defective (that is why they get caught), prostitution, disease, pauperism, drunkenness, and degeneracy, as the studies on families such as Kallikak, Jukes, Nams, Hill Folk have shown, even when allowances for inaccuracies in conclusions are made.

Manifestly care and treatment of these persons must vary with differentiation of degrees and kinds of deficiency. Fortunately we seem to have passed through the earlier alarmist stages when we considered every defective as a menace to society. Extreme measures were proposed such as segregation, sterilization, or euthanasia. But institutional and colony care, as at Rome, N. Y., and Waverley, Mass., with education and speed of activities adapted to abilities of inmates, have proved that the bulk of defectives can be trained to forms of work that enable them to become economically self-supporting and law-abiding citizens. In fact such persons can be happier in machine industry, operating simple monotonous forms of work or in simple household work than in more complex types of vocations. But even to make thus much of what capacity they have, they need special education as referred to. Otherwise they are quite incapable of adjusting themselves and become dependents. The worst cases without doubt should be sterilized, so that they cannot transmit their defect unless their defect is caused by other than heredity factors. Pennsylvania segregates her women of these types until they have passed the child-bearing age. Surgical achievement now makes it possible to operate on either men or women to sterilize them without particular inconvenience to the patients and without the slightest danger to health, and without eliminating the normal sex capacities except reproduction. In the past the most widespread sterilization has been through war but of our best instead of our worst.

Morons are cared for in special classes in the regular school

systems with extended supervision and follow-up. It is a question, however, not yet adequately answered how this arrangement affects the personalities and further handicaps those assigned to special classes—"nut" classes, "cracked" classes, as the normal pupils soon call them. Where possible ■ such students had special schools with their own social worlds and standards adapted to their levels the evils of deficient social status would not exist as just indicated.

Where best practice prevails, the criminal and delinquent types are experimentally tested for social capacities and then released under custody or permanently returned to institutions. In view of the significance of mental defects it is important that the communities set up means of early discovery so that special treatment and education can be supplied ■ establish right habits because of the difficulties defectives have of changing habits. Defect that is nutritionally caused is corrected by special feeding under medical direction and through special clinics so that normalcy is achieved.

#### DELINQUENT CHILDREN

WHAT is commonly called "juvenile delinquency" ought to ■ described as adult delinquency and juvenile need. No child ever does wrong, with the knowledge and experience he possesses he makes the best possible adjustment he can to a crisis, as he sees it. To him his behavior is right; only to adult society may his behavior seem wrong or antisocial. Errors of children in choosing forms of behavior that would bring social approval are due to inexperience, ignorance, or wrong education by adults.

There are many kinds of delinquents or maladjusted children, first, the mentally defective that make up from 1/10 to 1/5 of all the cases in our juvenile courts, then children of immigrants who commit property damage, or protestants against uninteresting life—those who steal, run away, lie, commit sex offenses and truancy from school, or children whose personalities are badly warped, psychopathic children who commit violence against persons, children seduced or misled by adults or companions, unmarried child mothers.

The number ■ "juvenile delinquents" is increasing and



the average age of criminals in prison is becoming lower. In New York City 80% of the crimes are committed by boys; recent statistics showed that 75% of prisoners in Sing Sing were under 21 years of age. In that same city court records reveal that 7-10% of boys reaching the age of ten have come before the legal authorities. Most of these are children of foreign-born parentage, which indicates the difficulties of adjustment to new laws and standards different from those of the old country. In 1910-1911, 115 institutions for delinquents in the United States enrolled 51,387 persons, of whom 77.8% were males and 22.2% were females.

The causes of child maladjustment to law as in other social problems are complex and varied. First in frequency probably should come the expression of wishes that conflict with the mores or laws, for as many as 50% of the juvenile court cases in New York City committed offenses in connection with play. Other causes are excessive irritability due to organic malfunctioning, bad home conditions, broken homes (which in some situations accounts for as many as 40% of juvenile court cases), mental conflict due to necessity of assimilating divergent group values, mental and emotional defects, evil associates, bad neighborhood and community conditions, and suggestive experiences in connection with newspapers, movies, stories and gossip, unpleasant school experiences developing from retardation or isolation, poverty, malnutrition, and laws and societal attitudes, and adult delinquency — carelessness, ignorance, malpractice and the like.

#### THE DELINQUENCY CRABMENT

THE RELATION of schools to delinquency warrants a word more in this connection. Analysis of many cases of delinquents shows that the path to crime often begins in what seems harmless enough but proceeds into more serious behaviors and substantial learnings under poor correctional treatment. A child at first has trouble learning a subject and fails in it so much that he gets discouraged or develops a hatred of it. In time he may transfer this attitude to the teacher, then to the school situation as a whole. Next come efforts to adjust himself to an intolerable situation either by

striking back and making himself obnoxious or troublesome in the school or by truancy. He comes under the attention of the school officers and develops attitudes of resistance. Truancy continues and he comes before the higher and legal authorities or while truant and in connection with child gang activities—frequently play, he commits an offense which brings him into court. This may happen so often that he becomes callous to authority and the offenses increase in seriousness. Finally, he is sent to a reformatory which is on the average a "school of crime" for there he associates with older persons who teach him the tricks. If he proves an apt pupil he may upon release be recommended to a gang leader who introduces him to the criminal world and its codes and practices. Thus may poorly adapted curriculum or failure to personalize teaching contribute to the making of criminals. This is not to suggest that all children who have difficulties in school are criminals in the making. But enough cases show the foregoing natural developments to warn teachers and administrators of the need of preventive effort at early stages of child maladjustments in schools.

#### TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT CHILDREN

IN THE old days children were thrown into prisons and jails with adult offenders after being tried by the usual adult court methods. But since 1899 juvenile courts have been created to deal with children on the basis of differentiating diagnosis and treatment, with probational supervision upon release. When arrested, children are taken not to jails but to special detention homes where they are cared for in a humane way and supervised by workers especially trained. Then follows a clinical diagnosis\* of the child's personality and the circumstances of the offense, together with a social investigation of his environmental history. He is brought before the juvenile judge who sits in a special juvenile court and who ideally devotes his whole time to this type of work. In best instances the judge meets the child informally in an attractive room with only the few persons concerned present. He

\* Prior to 1901 about 5 mental hygiene clinics provided special psychiatric service for children, in 1905 there were 434 clinics offering such service. See Lowry, L. G. "Clinical Psychology," *The Journal*, 157: 1918-1920.

strives to represent the state as an interested sympathetic parent who is there to help the child correct his mistakes in behavior not as one who readily passes judgment and metes out punishment. The aim is re-education, not punishment.

The judge, after hearing the facts and talking with the child and in view of the clinical report, assigns a treatment that seems most promising to help the child. He may be put under probation if a first offender, or sent to an institution which in progressive states is not a mere prison-like reformatory but a school, as the Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., or he may be placed out under continued supervision, if change of environment seems to be all that is needed.

The principles now being applied in these special schools are: separation of the sexes who are given residence in cottages under direction of cottage mothers and fathers, who strive to maintain as much of a home atmosphere as possible and to encourage the boys or girls in a cottage to organize and administer their own group discipline. The children attend regular school classes, for this school feature is constantly emphasized by the authorities, and through supervised play, vocational courses, and self-control measures are re-educated for participation in society.

But more important for students of education are the methods of prevention. First in importance is research into the causes of delinquency as in the Psychopathic Institute of Chicago (now the Institute of Juvenile Research), the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, the Iowa Child Welfare Research Bureau, the Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency of New York City.

Guidance, educational guidance, vocational guidance, life guidance through schools and special clinics have revealed the need of greatly expanded records, of personalization of school treatment, of discovery of capacities and defects as soon as possible, of the therapeutics of attractive and creative work, of the values of health services and supervision by school nurses and school health clinics, free feeding when necessary to remove malnutrition, improvement of parental guidance through classes for parents, habit clinics for young children, and adjustment clinics and visiting teachers.

Third, the improvement in conditions and opportunities for physical recreation. The "Keep off the grass" signs have cost us many a maladjusted child. As Jacob Riis long ago advocated, we seem to be more willing than formerly to sacrifice the grass in our parks to save the children through constructive play activities. Play streets, additional playgrounds, and playfields through the stimulation of local authorities to act in conjunction with the National Playground and Recreation Association, scouting, hiking, boys' clubs, settlement activities, and park extensions have all contributed to improve play facilities.

Fourth, the effort to enlighten people generally toward child offenses in order to eliminate children's attitudes of repudiation for vindictive punishments. When the teacher or society strikes back at the child for his offenses, his tendency is to repeat the offenses in more serious forms.

Fifth, the improvement of child feeding according to the best knowledge of dietetics. This is done through child-study groups, parent-teachers' associations, home-bureau work for parents in rural regions, milk stations, school luncheons and the like, through education of boys and girls in high schools in principles of child care in connection with home-making courses, and through the work in health education.

Sixth, the development of intelligent and sympathetic parenthood. A harmonious unified family environment that provides constant sympathetic adult guidance of young children, whether of one or both natural parents or of foster parents is absolutely essential for normal child growth. Recent studies seem to indicate that if this parental harmony is not possible except by radical readjustment, then the latter had better be secured in the interest of avoiding parental conflict. When divorce is resorted to it is important that each parent be free from malicious attitudes toward the former partner and that under favorable conditions the custody of the child may well alternate between the parents. Important, too, is the improvement of the family income and the physical conditions of the child's life at home, so that the resources in money, sleeping arrangements, work or play

facilities may be adequate to allow personal possessions and privacy.

Seventh, expert diagnosis of mental conflicts. This may be secured by psychiatric and sociatric services and through child welfare clinics, but also through the securing of needed and warranted changes in mores which may be only vestigial and not immediately adapted to present-day life, as well as through adult moral flexibility and intelligent resiliency toward life. Some of the mental conflicts of children could be reduced if parents and teachers would strive to teach nothing that would have to be unlearned especially where sentiments are concerned, and if those persons could contribute from a better understanding of their own to an interpretative orientation for children of the varied and complex norms of groups in their social worlds. In view of the fact that we cannot be too hopeful of parents in this respect, this interpreting of conflicting group standards may become one of the chief functions of our school work.

Eighth, special education for mental defectives. This involves differential treatment and training in institutions for defectives such as those at Vineland, N. J., and at Rome Colony, N. Y., and special classes or schools as already noted under the discussion of mental deficiency. Certainly there is need of more teacher-preparation for the discovery and teaching of mental defectives, not by the ordinary teacher but by specialists.

Ninth, the application of measures of negative eugenics and birth control.

Tenth, the improvement of neighborhood and community conditions by way of maintenance of high standards of social conduct that contribute to the general welfare and the support of such ideals, through practical functioning of social work agencies in co-operation with church, settlement, school and home, sanitation and community beautification, and a wiser because specially trained police supervision of the vicious and criminal elements who through press reports set action patterns for innocent children.

Eleventh: Probably the control of evil suggestions in the child's milieu is one of the most difficult problems we face.

There is no question that boys are prone, when questioned by a judge, to scapegoat the movies by saying that they got the suggestions for carrying out the offense from that source. Nevertheless all people young and old are played upon by suggestions of all kinds. So long as magazines, movies, and the press are suggestive they must be considered as factors in delinquency. The remedy is not necessarily the removal of all materials that might be suggestive to youngsters, particularly under certain conditions of emotional shock, for that would make movies more banal for adults than they are at present, but rather the showing of films made especially for children. There should be children's movies and children's shows.

The newspaper is a more difficult matter to control because children read papers purchased for adult consumption. Probably the only improvement here would be to boycott scandal and crime reports by refusing to buy papers that play up such events. But these things the bulk of the people demand since public schools have taught them to read but not to prefer better and cleaner newspapers. The "vicious" humor of the funnies has in certain papers been replaced by real humor artistically portrayed.

Adults, parents, relatives, and friends in home conversation might be careful to avoid suggestive or malignant gossip.

Thirteenth: legislative revision would remove vindictively punitive statutes involving children, would re-state laws so as to place responsibility for minors upon parents or guardians, as in recent laws in New York State, would provide for better state care through improved probation, placing-out, or institutions, and by setting up more domestic relations courts.

Fourteenth: improved education in schools on sex hygiene and appreciation of societal attitudes on sex and other matters; civic training of a vital and practical kind, functionalizing the subject matter throughout the grades and high schools as against maintaining the traditional contents which have failed to grip the imagination and enlist the activities of pupils; improvements in methods of teaching and study so as to make school experiences wholesome and attractive; democratic and natural discipline instead of autocratic im-

portion of obediences; extension of pupil leaderships through play, school athletics, clubs, and the like; the installation of a visiting teacher service to link teacher, pupil, and parent in a co-operative enterprise of child nurture.

When all these things and more are done there will still be delinquents, but all these measures do help to decrease the number of such children and the seriousness of their offenses. Only beginnings have been made in all of these methods; but the hopeful aspect is that beginnings have been made.

#### EXPLOITED CHILDREN

THE DEFINITION of child labor given by the National Child Labor Committee is "the work of children under conditions that interfere with the physical development, education, and opportunities for recreation that children require. It is the working of children at unfit ages, or unreasonable hours, or under unhealthful conditions." This would include not only those gainfully employed between the ages of 10 to 15 years but also those who work for parents without pay on farms, in shops, or at home provided they are below 15 years of age, and are worked long hours and under insanitary conditions. Inasmuch as parents in poor families do tend to exploit children, probably this definition is a good one to suggest standards but it is broader than usual. A distinction should be made between child labor and child work. The latter is taken to mean chores and the like that children may well be expected to do about the home or farm, activities that have definite educational values.

The 1920 census reports 1,060,858, or 2.5 per cent, of the 42,503,581 children between the ages of 10 to 15 years, who were gainfully employed. These figures do not include children helping their parents, nor children working for pay during vacation times because the enumeration was made in January. In agriculture there were 638,834 child laborers; 569,824 on farm houses; 66,990 hired on farms. In the non-agricultural pursuits about 45% of child laborers are apprentices and work in clothing, iron and steel, lumber and furniture industries. In the ceramic industries as many as 40% of all employees are child laborers. Little wonder the

*Ceramic Industry* fought so strenuously the national child labor amendment of recent fame. The ten states having the largest number of child laborers were: *Mississippi* (25.5% of total child population), *South Carolina* (24.4%), *Alabama* (24.1%), *Georgia* (20.8%), *Arkansas* (18.5%), *North Carolina* (18.6%), *Texas* (12.6%), *Tennessee* (11.5%), *Pennsylvania* (6%), *New York* (4.7%). (Those in italics are among the ten states highest in non-attendance at public schools and highest in illiteracy.)

What of it? Children's Bureau Publication No. 197 of the United States Department of Labor lists the social costs of child labor as health handicaps and accidents, industrial poisoning, limitation of earning power and premature old age, illiteracy, lack of vocational training, enhancement of poverty through child competition with adult labor, delinquency (especially in street trades), industrial waste, and social and political loss.

Poverty or family necessity is one reason why many children become child laborers. Family necessity operates chiefly on farms, and often in cities other motives are at work such as advancing the economic status though not suffering from poverty. Another and frequently the sole reason is the child's or the parent's dissatisfaction with school offerings, or the inability of the child to do the school work. Other reasons are that children, parents, employers, teachers, and people generally have not informed themselves on this great question of how children are exploited or the effects on children and communities, and are indifferent.

The remedies are threefold: legislation to protect children against premature exploitation—state and federal, adequate wages to provide decent standards of family life and maternity aid; educational improvements—more and better schools, more and better trained teachers, curriculum revision, vocational training and guidance, continuation schools and adult classes.

Progress in setting standards of child protection has been real. For example, prohibition of all wage-earning occupation of children under 16, prohibition of all minors under 18 in dangerous employment, night work by minors entirely



prohibited, factory work to be carried on in factories, not in tenements, and an eight-hour day and a six-day week.

By improvement of schools, increase of wages, and education ■ parents away from attitudes of regarding children as old-age insurance policies children can get better opportunities for growth through educative work and play without the evils of exploitation for profit.

### READINGS

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In view of better child care that has reduced child and infant mortality, what new obligations devolve upon public schools?

2. What specific achievements can be credited to your schools for "dependent," "neglected," "delinquent," "defective," and "exploited" children?

3. Why need we no longer be alarmed over the existence of mental defectives?

4. What types of mentally defective children could best be cared for in institutions or special schools, and what types in

special class? What do you think are the effects of these different modes of care on the personalities of these children?

5. In what ways can teachers directly contribute toward the prevention of "delinquency"?

6. How does your community handle "delinquent" children? What improvements should be effected in this program?

7. What are some educational results of child labor — advantages and disadvantages? But distinguish between "child work" and "child labor."

### **Exercise**

Describe what your state is doing for child care and compare it with the White House Conference standards. Lay out a school program in view of your conclusions.

## CHAPTER XX

### *SOCIETAL PROBLEMS (Continued)*

#### 7. COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

**O**NE OF the most common forms of exploitation of children and adults is through commercialized recreation. That children's desires for play during leisure hours should be made a matter of profit to those who sell play facilities seems unfortunate, nor does it seem necessary except as we disapprove of community efforts to provide adequate free facilities. One wonders why there is not just as much reason for running schools for profit as movies. Luckily our educational history has moved in the opposite direction. To free schools we have added free parks, playgrounds, playfields; and through schools, settlements, and churches free drama, through libraries, free literature, and through museums free art. Why not free dance halls, free theaters, free movies, free concerts and the like? Because taxpayers fear added burdens and business men fear incursions into their fields of profit in commercialized recreation. ■ many instances where such facilities for wholesome use of leisure have been established, they derive from philanthropies as in the case of libraries, concerts, and the like. But why should they not be a part of community planning and provision for children and adults as for education?

Some of the worst features of commercialized recreation are found in dance halls, cabarets, pool rooms and bowling alleys, and amusement parks. The enterpriser runs these as business concerns and by playing upon the desires and wishes of people, frequently the more sordid and debauched, enhances his profits but increases his exploitation. Moreover, the

alliances that develop between recreation places, that in themselves are valid enough, and places of vicious practices such as gambling, prostitution, drunkenness, sex irregularity, and crime have made it necessary to condemn them and seek for public regulation. But this method has not been very satisfactory for often the police assigned to such control are themselves corrupt and allow forbidden practices to continue.

In spite of earlier attitudes of opposition to dancing, educators must admit that dancing is here to stay. It is a form of activity particularly attractive because it not only provides satisfactions for new experiences, physical exercise, and social contacts for many who live lonely lives in great cities, but also because of its relation to mating and sex experiences. Shall our high school pupils be driven to commercialized dance places whose purposes are maximum profits and whose control and supervision of behavior are just enough to support the major objective? Youths will inevitably go there, unless we provide through schools or other agencies opportunity for dancing under wholesome conditions. The roadhouse is an associated evil. It represents exploitation of efforts of people to get away from the social control of the behavior in their gossip areas, consequently drunkenness and sex immorality are frequently found there. Thus has the motor car helped to break down control by providing wider ranges of mobility.

Various surveys of dance halls have been made in an effort to discover conditions and safeguard young people. The age range for patrons runs from twenty to thirty years. The total weekly attendance in Manhattan, New York City, is over 22,000 or 5,215,604 per year. In other words, 14% of the total number of males between 17 and 40 years attend dance halls in Manhattan once a week, and 19% of males attend closed dance halls; 10% of females attend dance halls once a week. The money this represents amounts to \$5,514,658 a year in Manhattan alone. Add the cabarets, roadhouses, hotels, and restaurants for all the towns and cities of the country and one secures a stupendous figure as an index of the importance of dancing.

And what about the 20,000,000 weekly patrons of movies in the United States? The chief values of amusement and education claimed for them are hardly being realized and their vicious and antisocial suggestions are powerful. Theaters range all the way from those like the Theatre Guild in New York that are co-operative undertakings with subscription memberships that make it possible to maintain high standards of art irrespective of the cruder demands of the market, and Little Theaters that offer amateur presentations, to the questionable musical comedy shows with suggestive songs and skits, and burlesques that specialize in exploitation of sex. The danger in baseball (on which from 10 to 15 millions of dollars are spent annually), racing and boxing, and other forms of competitive sports is in the gambling that accompanies them and the fact that they tend to degenerate the spirit of sportsmanship for professionalism and profits. Other forms of commercialized recreation are travel and tours, bathing, boating, camping, reading, and so on. Throughout the United States two trends in these forms of recreation may be discerned: one, to provide free and adequate facilities for young and old as in the city program of Chicago, and the other, to set up facilities privately as business ventures.

#### VALUES OF COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

PROBABLY the chief value from commercialized recreation is the provision of many facilities that would be otherwise long delayed. People play and should play. All persons have need of recreation and the more varieties available, the richer are life experiences. From occupational monotony and fatigues come physical and psychic tensions—this holds for both persons and groups—which can be released through play. When free facilities are lacking, people demand them enough to pay and, as we have seen, pay heavily. As our mechanical devices increasingly relieve us of toil and hours of work are shortened in the interests of worker-efficiency and of limitation of production so as to adjust production of goods to demand, more leisure is gained and more recreation demanded. How to create standards and desires in people that will lead them into wholesome recreation is one of the most

pressing problems of modern education of youths and adults. So far our programs of physical education and recreation have contributed somewhat to reduce the extent of necessary commercialized recreation, but too often pupils are taught to play in ways that are open to them only in schools. Therefore when they are graduated and depend upon home and community facilities, they must turn more completely to those forms that are commercialized.

#### PROBLEMS OF RECREATION

Quite apart from the wastes of time, money, energy, and physical fitness incident to commercialized recreation, probably one of the greatest problems is the tendency to take recreation vicariously. That is, we do not play baseball, football, and the like extensively, but sit on bleachers and watch them; we do not participate in giving concerts but listen to them; we do not act, we observe the players. We do not know whether this is altogether necessary, or how much of it is desirable, or whether we should adapt education in these fields to more productive and active participation, but such problems must be researched into by educators. Just as the howling mobs of Rome were appeased by public performances in the arena even when food was short, these great crowds that shout and yell as bleacherites may accentuate standardization and the crowd and mob attitudes of complacency and conformity. Just how much carry-over to politics and other institutions there may be from these conditions we do not know. We do know that such vicarious participation does not give the same values that actual participation offers and that it develops a *laissez-faire* attitude toward play and play opportunities. Which is better — to have populations at play on schoolgrounds, parks, playfields in great numbers, or to have them watching a few people do it all?

More specific problems sometimes deriving from commercialized recreation are sex delinquency and unmarried motherhood, dishonesty, gambling, vice, drunkenness, prostitution, crime, and poverty.

## CONTROL OF COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

IMPROVEMENTS of these conditions have been brought about by the following methods: legislative regulation and police control by requiring that all such places be licensed and under constant supervision; supervision of places and activities by civic groups and reform societies; changes effected by the business men involved as efforts to meet the new demands and standards set up by social workers in the interest of public confidence and patronage; censorship of books and movies and plays (a method not approved by the more liberal leaders); philanthropic provision; public provision of facilities; actual direct elimination of some worst forms of commercialized recreation. education in schools that operates negatively to accustom pupils to the evils of certain places and practices (of doubtful value) and positively in the training of children in wholesome play habits and standards.

■ seems that in those types of recreation ■ least where children make up a large portion of the social patronage that public provision should be substituted for private exploitation.\* The difficulty of governmental regulation of private agencies is that there are many ways of escaping the rigors of police control, if any. Meanwhile school authorities can make a wider use of the school plant for all sort of community recreation. These extension programs should be regular parts of the school administration because only by closely linking the schools with other institutional services can the work of teachers be made effective and lasting beyond the walls of the classroom.

## B PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY

THE EXTENT of physical deficiency can be indicated by mortality and morbidity (sickness) rates. For the registration area in the United States, which covers 85.3% of the total population, the death rates per one thousand population

\* In 1928, \$72 cities reported to the Bureau of Labor as conducting recreation programs as against \$15 in 1927. The total expenditure for public recreation in 817 cities amounted to approximately \$20,700,000. "The Community Recreation Movement," *Survey and Maps*, 30. 24. In 1929, the total was \$28,518,794 *Ill. Statistics*, 25: 127-127.

were: in 1900—17.6, in 1910—11.1, 1919—11.9; 1921—11.6; 1922—11.8; 1925—11.7; 1927—11.1. Although these figures reveal a persistent decrease, authorities maintain that the present death rate is too high which shows how our use of knowledge lags behind its discovery.

According to a study made in Illinois, the ten chief causes of death in that state for 1927 were: heart disease which killed twice as many as the diseases which came next, nephritis and cancer, accidents, tuberculosis, pneumonia, cerebral hemorrhage, congenital malformation and diseases of early infancy, diarrhea and enteritis, and diseases of the arteries. In Illinois the death rate from cancer in a quarter of a century doubled because with the decrease of infant mortality and better control of tuberculosis, a disease of youth, more people live long enough to be attacked by cancer, a disease of age.

Great reduction in sickness has been achieved through public health work, county, state, federal, and international. For typhoid, malaria, measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and diarrhea (under 2 years of age) the reduction in two decades has been as great as from 59% to 83%. The greatest hazards of life on farms are shown by the fact that the decrease for these diseases in rural regions was only from 17% to 71%, with a relatively low gain in malarial control (17%). However, for the country as a whole influenza was decreased only by 3% but for rural regions by as much as 29%.

Such are some of the ills to which flesh is heir. The next question is: What do they cost?

#### COSTS OF SICKNESS

Obviously because of the relation between illness and economic efficiency, poverty, and other conditions, the illness of income-bringers is of great social significance. Of the diseases that peculiarly affect workers tuberculosis is found in 5% of the industrial population, or 1,250,000 persons; pneumonia, influenza, and typhoid fever are acute; hookworm affects 5% of the laboring population with chief incidence in the South; malaria is common and creates sub-standard health and economic incompetency; and as many as



60% of workers, or 14,000,000 suffer from local infections. According to Fisher\* there are three million people seriously ill at all times. Forty-two per cent of this illness is preventable and if prevented would add 15 years to the extension of life. Recent authorities have claimed that we have added ten years to the average life span so we may note in such norms the advance made in control of preventable illness. The sick rate from 35 to 44 years of age is nearly double that for ages 15 to 24. Since the "health span"—the period of life when it is most easy to keep healthy—is from ages 11 to 31 and the "work span" is from 20 to 42 years, it is readily seen that sickness falls heaviest upon wage-earners during their productive period.

Therefore, Fisher claimed an annual economic loss from preventable disease and death of \$1,500,000,000. Tuberculosis costs one billion dollars a year; typhoid fever, \$135,000,000; hookworm, \$350,000,000; and malaria, \$100,000,000 annually. An officer of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company estimated in 1926 that our annual cost of illness including loss in production, loss of wages, and costs of medical care, and the like, amounted to two and a quarter billions of dollars annually. He placed the capital values of the lives that could be saved at over six billions of dollars. In 1922, according to H. H. Moore, *Public Health in the United States*, the people in the United States spent 1400 million dollars for cure and only 60 millions for prevention. Surely this shows that we do not take seriously the homely adage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

But why pile up statistics on financial losses due to illness? The moneys lost are insignificant beside the losses in personal competency and social adequacy. The physical pain and worries not only of the ill persons but of others responsible, the loss of ambition, the poverty and pauperism, unemployment, dependency, delinquency, broken families, and child handicap that are so frequently entailed, and the high costs of medical service, make preventable sickness and death one of our great national problems. Among children it cuts

\* *Report on National Fitness, Its Wants and Conservation*, Bulletin No. 30, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

down school attendance and creates retardation, over-ageing, and lowered school efficiency.

The personal factors that shorten life are heredity, eating excessive amounts of food, deficiencies or excesses of internal secretions, physical or psychic strain (fatigue), physical or psychic apathy. The factors that involve sanitation, immunization, and economic improvement are infections, poisons, mineral and organic dusts, malnutrition which may come from poorly selected foods that lack proper balance of vitamins or insufficient foods due to poverty. The three great offenders are ignorance, carelessness, and exploitation.

#### THE MEANS OF PROLONGING LIFE

THE first method of prolonging life aims at elimination of hereditary deficiencies which make people amenable to disease. It is that of negative eugenics. Positive eugenics would doubtless contribute toward the acquisition of immunities but, as noted before, the difficulties of control of mating for such purposes are at present too great to offer much hope.

Second, effective control of illness has been made possible by the substitution of science for quacks, nostrums, magic, and superstition. We are gradually freeing ourselves from the notion that disease is a scourge of God sent to punish evil men, for the ravages of sickness and death fall upon good and bad when epidemics and plagues sweep through a population. Advances have come through researches in physiochemistry, biology, and the applied science of medicine. Great foundations have been established to discover the causes and cures of diseases. Their advantage is the promotion of specialized research; but their disadvantage comes in the limitation of opportunity for discovery through adequate financial means when possibilities may lie with certain capable persons outside the research staff. Grants to those who show undoubted capacity for such research would obviate this difficulty.

Authorities claim that as a result of such researches our knowledge is now quite adequate to eradicate completely typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, smallpox, syphilis, and

malaria and that it is enough to control effectively cholera, plague, yellow fever, typhus fever, leprosy, and hookworm. This is especially significant since it has been discovered that these dread diseases can be communicated as readily to healthy persons as to those whose physical tone may be lowered. What is needed then is widespread application of available knowledge.

Third, the organization and financing of medical service and follow-up. Our present means for cure lie in hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, visiting and school nursing services, and private practice of physicians. For prevention there have been built up units of public health service that range from county and municipal departments to state, national, and international organizations to discover the presence of communicable diseases and to prevent their spread. With the increase of population mobility through enhanced travel and transportation facilities such large-scale organization for control is vital to the health of the world. What happens in Canton or Calcutta is important to the ice drinker of Main Street for without such international services effectively administered, the deadly diseases of the Orient could readily be brought by articles of international trade and by rats and flies on ships that touch at foreign ports where poverty and lack of health control still allow such diseases to exist.

Legislation that utilizes the police power to establish quarantine and to isolate persons who fall victims to communicable diseases has been effective, but too frequently the people involved are careless about observing the laws and sometimes even physicians are negligent, particularly in backward places where public health efforts meet with opposition from lay and professional people.

Private agencies have been established by philanthropies such as the Rockefeller Institute, the Milbank Memorial Fund experiments in Cattaraugus County, New York, and the East Harlem Demonstration Center in New York City, and many others throughout the country. The results of such efforts prove conclusively that such organization of effort in city and county can materially reduce both the morbidity and mortality rates.

A typical county program of full-time health service calls for health education in schools and with adults, co-operation with other social work agencies, particularly the schools and relief societies, control of communicable diseases, child hygiene, sanitation and inspection, records, reports, and financing.

Shall public health services be free or not? Some doctors have tended to resist such services because they interfered with practice, and being free hindered their personal financial success. But such attitudes are not in harmony with the ethics of the medical profession. In general in the United States we have developed a policy of free preventive work through public health organizations and free nursing service for those incapable of paying. Private medical service renders much free service to the poor in their homes and in hospitals. Thus the very rich can purchase the best medical service and the very poor are provided with it through social work agencies.

The burden of costs falls heaviest upon the middle classes who find it exceedingly expensive to be born, to be sick, or to die and be buried. Oftentimes families are swept into poverty by spending their savings or by borrowing to pay for expensive medical services. This means that frequently people of this class do not utilize the best services or fail to utilize medical service until diseases are advanced and difficult to cure. For this reason some leaders have advocated free medical examinations at regular periods so that people could report to private physicians for care early enough to make cure relatively certain where cures are known. Meanwhile clinics commonly provide this service for a very nominal fee in order to get teaching situations for internes.

Insurance companies are organizing free medical service for their policy-holders, sometimes only nursing, sometimes both doctor and nursing service. This is done to postpone death and the time of payment of insurance but it tends to provide broader health control. Some companies sell sickness insurance on a group plan.

The public provision of doctor service has been tried in England but without success. A more promising plan re-

cently developed in New York State is group contract for medical service. A number of physicians organize into a unit to provide all kinds of specialized services and make contracts to provide complete medical services for a family for a year without any charges additional to the contract price. This brings medical service to a new low level of cost and offers physicians opportunity to make higher incomes than otherwise, besides giving them certainty in their incomes. It also relieves families from the worries of excessive costs that might pile up in the event of need of extensive doctoring or of specialized surgery.

Greater control of standards of training and education has been effected recently by the medical profession through grading up medical schools and colleges and refusing to recognize those doing inferior work. Recently, too, schools of nursing have been established in large educational centers like Columbia and Yale. Because these schools offer advanced work the graduates return to teach in hospital training units and improve the standards and techniques used there. One reason for low efficiency in hospital service is the fact that frequently hospitals try to get cheap maid and nursing service by utilizing the hospital as a training school. The result is that many training schools turn out many poorly trained and poorly selected nurses. Better practice would be to separate nurse-training from nursing except for a period of internship, or to centralize schools.

Fourth, education for health through inculcating the methods of personal hygiene and public sanitation and control of communicable diseases. This is done through education of children by teachers in health courses and by school nurses in their treatment of children's physical debilities and through education of adults by health propaganda—addresses and lectures, printed materials, news articles, exhibits, demonstrations, and the like.

Fifth, the improvement in the means of life which includes: increased income and insurance, better housing, city planning, industrial safety campaigns, increased facilities for recreation, control of food production and marketing, legal protection against impure and adulterated foods, and the

integration of various social work agencies with the health organizations.

### 9. MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Under the definition of mind previously offered, diseases of the nervous system could properly be considered here. Of these the most baffling is epilepsy, which is peculiarly a disease of the young. There are four forms that the disease takes — physical or mental convulsions, local or in part. The causes are still unknown though the disease is regarded as hereditarily related to mental defect of the more severe types. Although it seems so far to be incurable and develops mostly into dementia, some control of convulsions can be secured by medication.

It has been estimated that there are as many as from 100,000 to 300,000 persons afflicted in the United States, or about one to every 500 persons. In 1916 as many as 18% of the army rejections were because of epilepsy. The uncertainty and recurrence of the seizures make it difficult for victims to hold jobs. Consequently they suffer from unemployment and pauperism. But the most tragic aspect is the fact that sufferers feel a deep sense of inferiority and incompetency which tends to isolate them from normal people. In a sense, they are self-created outcasts because they avoid the embarrassment of seizures in public or social situations.

The present methods of care are generally quite inadequate. Epileptics are found in almshouses, insane asylums and jails, in private institutions run on a pay basis for the well-to-do, and in public institutions well-staffed medically, such as the Craig Colony type of Sonoma, New York. This latter method is the best one and should be adopted by all states, because in these institutions the people form their own social world and develop standards on the basis of their afflictions. Thus social ostracism from normal people is spared them. Obviously so far as the hereditary aspects are concerned both birth control and sterilization would contribute to prevention.

More common still are mental diseases, commonly but un-

fortunately called "insanity." There are many types ranging from milder forms of hysteria and neuritis to psychoses — melancholia, paranoia, dementia, and paresis.

The causes are found first, in congenital defects; second, changes in brain tissue resulting from injury due to accidents, childbirth, alcohol, drugs, and poisons, or due to diseases such as influenza, syphilis, tuberculosis; and others, due to malfunctioning of organs, especially the ductless glands; or due to social experiences that involve severe prolonged mental conflicts, violent emotional shock, or excessive religious excitement.

Mental diseases seem to be increasing. In 1910 the extent was estimated as one in 500 persons, but Lambert claimed that as many as one out of every five persons has been in hospitals for the mentally ill at some time or other. In 1920 the estimate was one in every 450 persons. One reason for this may be that as with cancer, more people live to the age when mental diseases set in. The incidence of these afflictions varies. For example, statistical studies show that they are diseases of middle and later life, more common among males than females, an urban disease in that in 1910 there were twice as many in cities as in country districts, that among the foreign-born the rate is highest among the Irish and lower among Negroes than among Whites, more common among single than married men, and closely allied with vice and alcoholism. It thus varies with age, sex, residence, race and nationality, marital status, and personal habits.

Contrary to common opinion, cure for many is possible if proper care can be secured. As many as 64% of cases are mentally ill for less than a year. This is why these diseases should be viewed as mental illness rather than "insanity" for the stigma that previously attached to residence in an "insane asylum" militates against complete recovery and successful social adjustment upon release from mental hospitals.

Care and treatment of the mentally ill are provided through psychiatric clinics, or mental hygiene clinics which aim at thorough diagnosis of the disease, its conditions and development, and treatment of milder cases. For the others

hospitalization is necessary. Under the present prevalent misconceptions of the nature of these diseases and the tendency to class them all as one, legislation has been enacted that fails to take advantage of present knowledge. For this reason and because of the difficulty of determining who come under the law, there is a real problem in the safeguarding of personal liberty of those afflicted.

People may now be committed to institutions through a variety of methods. There is commitment by judicial action with jury trial, by a judge with the aid of a special commission, by a commission alone created by the legislature, by a judge on the findings of physicians, and by voluntary action of the person as in the case of other diseases. The newer policy is in favor of forced commitment only in the severe cases that threaten the safety of others and then after diagnosis by expert alienists who recommend differentially the type of institution best adapted to specialized programs of treatment. Some must be committed for permanent care, others for shorter or longer periods. These two types should not be thrown together, nor those who have violent tendencies with those who are relatively harmless. Separate care for the acute, the chronic, and the criminal cases is basic to wise handling of this social problem.

Moreover, there should be state rather than county care because of the greater resources of the state to meet the varied needs of these different types of mental diseases. When possible, patients should be boarded out upon careful placement and with persistent follow-up. Instead of jail-like institutions, there should be colonies and villages for the curables, so that life within may approximate life without the hospital. Finally, there should be more provision and more use of facilities already provided for psychiatric services, with well-organized staffs that include not only psychiatrists, but psychologists, sociologists, social workers, and nurses.

#### 10. PROSTITUTION

AN ANCIENT evil is prostitution; never have authorities successfully coped with it. What is prostitution? Sex favors for pay. The term "prostitutes" would and properly should



include wiver who marry as a trade, for a permanent meal ticket, or to secure fortune, and those who remain married for such reasons when affection is lost in the marital relation, as well as anagamous persons who commercialize their sex. Since women have gained new freedom and economic independence, male prostitutes are coming into existence. But why should only those who sell sex favors for pay be called prostitutes? The term should in all reason include those who buy as well as those who take pay for sex favors, whether in or out of marriage, whether male or female.

The usual investigations and discussions of this problem of preventing prostitution and securing "social hygiene" do not present the foregoing interpretations and definitions. The data available tell only one side of the story, that of the female prostitute. They therefore tell only a very small part of the whole story of the many and devious methods of exploiting sex for pecuniary returns. Manifestly what sex relations exist outside of marriage that do not involve pay would not be included as prostitution but should be included in social hygiene. Data on such "free love" relations out of marriage are not available except by indirect interpretation of evidence from juvenile court cases and incidence of unmarried motherhood. Due to the personal and intimate nature of such relations and to the secrecy that so often surrounds them, and to customary opposition of people to think about such matters, little is known, but many sweeping generalizations are made concerning the increase of such extra-marital relations, particularly of young people.

It has been estimated that there are usually as many as from 200,000-300,000 prostitutes operating alliances with speakeasies, cabarets, night clubs, closed dance halls, poolrooms, clubs, and the like. Since practically all states have driven out the segregated or "red light" districts of former days, these people now are scattered throughout the communities in parlor houses, short-run boats between large cities, tenements, hotels, rooming-houses, and the like. Street solicitation may have been reduced somewhat but probably it has simply been driven under cover by stricter police action, but there is no question that it still goes on in large cities even

openly on streets. Male associates who are supported by the earnings of the women, "pimps," pick up men, and make assignments. Licensing of houses of prostitution has been abandoned in this country as a policy, but many other countries still do it on the theory that better health and police control can be effected. But this is a snare and a delusion, for the medical certificate means nothing when infection may occur within a short period after the medical examination.

Most prostitutes are relatively young and most fail to reach old age, for either they abandon prostitution in time or die in early life. Moreover, they cannot remain in the business on the average more than about five years or so. Usually they are of low mentality; and practically every one is diseased either with gonorrhea or syphilis. Since the ravages of these diseases are so heavy and disastrous few can escape early extinction or mental disease. Commonly, too, their attitudes toward life are that they must live somehow, that the world has made them outcasts, that male patronage is responsible for their condition of slavery to the business, that they cannot get out once they are in — in short, attitudes of hopeless dejection or of proud defiance. Such attitudes make the rehabilitation efforts of social workers very difficult. And yet it must be said that many who are of superior mentality and sometimes superior education exploit the business for a short while and then marry out of it or go into some other trade.

The causes of prostitution are heredity which operates to create unmarried motherhood and sex exploitation of mental defectives, sex ignorance, early sex relations, betrayal by men with marriage promises, ostracism by respectable people when gossip condemns a girl as sexually immoral, compulsion as in the white slave traffic which is international in scope, bad home conditions that drive young girls out for thrills and excitements, association with others who have already "trod the primrose path," poverty that makes it impossible to satisfy normal wishes of girls for fineries, suggestive amusements that create the impression that the method is safe, easy, and profitable, unemployment, double standards of morality for men and women which punish the latter for

any sex offenses but condone the former, automobiles that make it possible to escape the controls of the intimate gossip areas, and wrong ideals of marriage. One of the most astounding conditions is the attitude of policemen and policewomen with respect to the "mashing" of young girls by men in military uniform. Whenever ships of war unload their men for shore-leave or near camps, these soldiers and sailors openly and brazenly attempt to pick up girls—and usually young girls in their teens—without police interference. The civilian masher has been pursued by policewomen in an effort to protect innocent girls and avoid annoyance to older women, but why this freedom for the military masher whose uniform casts about him a peculiar halo of romance and attractiveness?

Quite apart from the immorality of prostitution, it is exceedingly dangerous and costly to a community, because by it sexual diseases are transmitted throughout a population, affecting innocent wives, sweethearts, and children. While the incidence of venereal disease has already been reduced through control measures by one-third the number of cases, it still remains a real menace. For this same reason promiscuous sex relations without pay is dangerous.

The program of the American Social Hygiene Association well illustrates the various methods of attack on this problem. Its work is organized into Divisions of Legal, Educational, Protective, and Medical Measures, and a Division of Public Information. While some authorities will think segregation is best, our settled policy is repression and education. While in the past greater stress was laid upon police action and the passage of abatement laws, the establishment of rescue homes, and reformatories, now the emphasis is upon the work of protective associations such as the Travelers' Aid and S. P. C. C., improvement of living conditions in home, shop, playground, school, and church, increased medical care through free venereal disease clinics and prophylactic medication after exposure, and last but not least, better incomes so as to remove from girls and women the necessity of supplementing their economic resources by practices so dangerous and tragic.

The positive method emphasized today is education on sex hygiene through courses in schools and through widespread propaganda for adult education. Venereal diseases might be brought under effective control but that would still not solve the problems of securing sex morality. To achieve this a program of education is necessary, beginning in the home and continuing throughout adolescence. That program involves frank and honest transmission of correct information about sex and birth, and the inculcation of ideals of respect for sex in terms of parenthood and high aesthetic standards of living life rationally, adequately, and artistically. Some of the ideals promulgated by reformers reflect more traditional norms than an ethics based squarely upon the newer findings of biology, psychopathology, and sociology, nevertheless until a scientific sexual ethics is more thoroughly clarified than it is at present, people will do well to hold on to past achievements.

Meanwhile education can co-operate in many ways, as suggested above, with social work agencies in attacking this baffling and complex problem; and they can be tolerant of those who err in an age of ethical reconstruction made necessary by a machine age and advancement in scientific knowledge. Let no teacher with the best of intentions drive, by ostracism, an occasional offender into the throes of prostitution. That would be an unpardonable sin. We are all involved in any guilt because of inadequate or erroneous education or because of our complacency toward the many social ills that contribute to such offenses. Homes, playgrounds, schools, churches, social work agencies are constantly having their chances to redeem youth but are failing constantly. The least we can do is to stand by with friendly helpfulness rather than with self-righteous condemnation.

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#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How does a school program of recreation compete with commercialized forms of recreation? Be specific.

2. Can you show in what ways pupil participation in forms of commercialized recreation help or hinder school work?

3. Is it possible for schools to take the lead in changing certain forms of commercialized recreation into types to be provided free by a community?

4. Are the justifications for free dance halls, skating rinks, movies, and the like, the same as for free public schools? Why do we not move in that direction?

5. What new demands upon public schools are created by the prolonging of life through the achievements of medical science? (Consider, for example, leisure education.)

6. How can a school clinic aid in preventing mental deficiency?

7. Can sex education serve as a prevention of prostitution? Severally relate the causes noted to see wherein our schools have failed.

#### EXERCISE

Bring in a report for your class of a description of health services provided by any single state department of health.

## CHAPTER XXI

### *SOCIETAL PROBLEMS (Continued)*

#### 12. DRUNKENNESS

LET IT BE noted at the outset that whatever our wishes or sentiments may be concerning liquor-drinking, the fact is that evidence has not been found to show that moderate consumption of alcoholic beverages is deleterious. The one argument against it is the danger that temperate drinking may lead to excess, but the same is true of other appetites such as food, sex, and the like. The remedy is not prohibition through police control but the building of standards and tastes through education that make temperance a positive ideal in all phases of living.

The causes of drunkenness should be differentiated with reference to types of drunkards. There is the occasional drunkard who seeks forgetfulness of his troubles—crisis solution of feelings of inferiority by flight—misfortunes, disappointments, sorrows, or of fatigues by exploiting the effects of alcohol; or who, to satisfy wishes of personal response, drinks convivially with friends; or to overcome inhibitions and repressions when his habits and conscience are too strong to allow wishes to escape when in his normal senses.

Then there are the habitual drunkards and dipsomaniacs who from mental defect or the causes already listed lose their power to drink in moderation and become physical and mental degenerates. Some persons maintain that drinking oneself to death is a form of natural selection that eliminates the weak persons.

Reliable statistics as to the extent of drinking are impossible of achievement because of present conditions.\* Some authorities claim there is more drinking now than there was before prohibition went into effect; others claim less.† Liquor costs more than previously so that the incidence of drinking has probably shifted from the poorer to the middle and upper classes. Whereas drink formerly was the solace of the poor man, now it is the release from conventions of the wealthier classes. The Wickersham Report of 1931 showed that drinking is common and that so far the liquor laws have not been successfully enforced. The members of the Commission differed as to what to do about it. Approximately two billion gallons of alcoholic beverages were consumed annually in the United States before 1917; an expenditure equaling that on automobiles. Some regarded the materials used in the production of such beverages as wastes of food materials; some now ascribe the over-supply of cereals to the closing of breweries. The old system without question did waste the weekly pay for many a worker who spent it in a saloon before returning home. Social workers quite unanimously denounced the saloon as the cause of impotent wages and family need. Likewise there was industrial waste because in many instances the peak of productive efficiency after the weekend rest was not reached until Wednesday noon, whereas now it is reached by Monday noon. But this might make for over-production and unemployment; in which case it is not an unmitigated good. Drunkenness enters into most of our social problems of poverty, pauperism of

\* Of 273 night club and spontaneous dancing as were interviewed in his "reportable." Washington, G. B. "The Night Clubs of New York," *The Survey*, 11: 415-417.

† *Causes of alcoholic psychosis — submission to N. Y. State Hospitals.*

1920 . . . .	84 per cent
1921 . . . .	36
1922 . . . .	12

*Annual Report of N. Y. State Hosp. Comm.*

The number of deaths from alcoholism per 100,000 population in the U. S. Registration Area—

1900-1904 . . . .	8.4
1905-1909 . . . .	6.1
1910-1914 . . . .	5.8
1915-1919 . . . .	3.4
1920-1924 . . . .	3.3

Sanborn, H., "Prohibition and Public Health," *The Survey*, Dec. 1, 1923.

habitual consumers, malnutrition of drunkards' children, disease, broken homes, gambling, vice, drug addiction, and crime. Before prohibition it was estimated that one-half the crime was directly caused by drunkenness.

Since prohibition new evils have arisen. There may be fewer drunkards on our Main Streets, more in our homes. There may be less crime from excessive drinking but there is more crime from mere drinking, for bootlegging has become such a widespread evil, dragging in its wake the speakeasy, the rumrunner, outlaw gang war, hijacking, murders, political graft, and police corruption that it is difficult to say which are the worst evils. The new régime has created social worlds outside of normal legal society where lawlessness reigns, and the quick gun and the machine gun, the high-speed automobile and the motor boss fix the might that determines the right. This world has its own code and settles its problems in its own way. These conditions affect general attitudes toward law and law-obedience.

Sociologically, prohibition of any societal practice is not so wise a policy as control, regulation, and educational prevention. Before the prohibition law was passed great progress was being made through educational measures and indirect means. Some claim that all that ground that had been gained has been lost under this experiment.

What with studies and investigations of pro and anti claiming directly opposite findings, all data are misstated as partisan propaganda for one side or the other. Both sides are agreed, however, on no return to the saloon.

This is no brief for or against prohibition as we know it, but a suggestion that the least educators can do is to be open-minded on this question and to face facts and act realistically, not merely sentimentally. All the wishful thinking of a people who desire the elimination of drunkenness cannot enforce a law deliberately and persistently broken on every hand and under ideals of "smart" behavior. Some claim that if the experiment can be continued for a generation, a new population will grow up without saloons and then we can expect results. It would be fine if there were evidence for such wishing, but what about the present speakeasy and the boot-



legger? Some concession and compromise on both sides would relieve the excessive bitterness of the conflict and release effort for educational methods to build up positive standards of conduct in terms of physical, mental, and social efficiency. Meanwhile the improvements of life at all points would reduce the causes of drinking, especially those of fatigue, poverty, depression, and escape from outworn conventions. School texts must provide science and not propaganda, or pupils learning true data from outside sources will lose respect for school efforts.\*

## 12. CRIME

WHAT is crime? The answer to this question depends upon the understanding of the evolution of law. As analyzed in Chapter II, the general basis of law is the consensus and sanction that develop around customary procedures to which people are expected to conform. When organized courts and justice take cognizance of these group expectations and preferences of familiar ways, there develops what is known as "common law." In theory under a democratic government the representatives of the people assembled in legislatures enact laws that are supposed to represent either the prevalent judgments of people or the hopes of leaders to create modes of behavior that will become prevalent. These enactments or statutes are "statute law."

Briefly, crime is the violation of laws or the commitment of more serious offenses against society for which punishments have been specified.

Moreover for the prevention and punishment of crime societies develop organized methods, represented by police, courts, jails, and fines.

But one should speak of crimes rather than "crime," for in law there are many different types of crimes. There are misdemeanors, or lesser offenses, which are punishable by fines or confinement in local prisons. Offenses which are considered less serious than misdemeanors are handled by other milder means of societal control, such as gossip, snubs,

\* See Fernal, Raymond, *Mind and Language*, 1925, and Johnson, T. F., *The Probation System*, Federal Council of Churches, N. Y. C.

ostracism and the like. Then there are felonies, or major offenses, which are punishable by imprisonment in a state prison or by death.

In actual practice further differentiation of offenses is made in terms of those that are accidental and those that are deliberate or intentional. There are crimes against persons, crimes against property, and crimes against public decency, order, or justice.

Satisfactory classification of criminals has never been achieved. Criminologists distinguish between the "born" criminal, the "victim" criminal, the "defective" criminal; legalists distinguish thieves, robbers, murderers, disorderly persons, forgers, and the like. Statistically, a criminal is a violator of criminal laws, on the average a young adult man from 18 to 25 years of age living in the city.

#### EXTENT AND COST OF CRIME

■ In 1910 there were 112,881 persons in 1683 penal institutions of the United States made up of 104,362 males and 8198 females, or one to every 800 persons. There are from 200,000 to 300,000 criminals in the total population. Approximately one million persons are convicted each year for some offense. In 1915 there were 4,000,000 arrests and 1,800,000 convictions. The total financial cost for a year of detecting and dealing with all these cases has been estimated variously from \$5,000,000,000 to \$16,000,000,000, at least five times what the country spends for education. Eight to ten per cent of the total national income is spent on crime. The annual crime bill apart from expenditures in handling has been estimated at ten billion dollars. Nearly four billions represent actual theft of property.

#### CAUSES OF CRIME

HISTORICALLY the prevalent explanation of crime and criminal tendencies was the theological conception of innate depravity, or that criminals were possessed by demons that entered into them and thus committed offenses which the people in their right minds would not commit. Consequently punishment of the criminal was an effort to drive

the devil out and therefore save the victim, and the more entrenched the devil was considered to be, the more cruel the punishment necessary to expel the evil one.

#### THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY

THE BEGINNING of modern efforts to understand and treat criminals more scientifically was found in the development of the classical school of criminology in the eighteenth century. It was the first protest against the cruel treatment of criminals in the early devil-chasing efforts and aimed at the conservation of the rights and liberties of the criminal. This school advocated punishment based upon a penalty limited by the social need and also orderly procedure in determining guilt and punishment. Its fundamental principle was that the treatment of the criminal should depend upon the crime committed and not upon his nature.

#### THE ITALIAN SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY

CESARE LOMBROSO, an Italian anthropologist, made an effort during the nineteenth century to apply the newer findings of medicine and biology, and concluded that there was a criminal type who possessed physical features of an atavistic kind. He thus gave more precise definition to the earlier conception of "innate depravity."

Garofalo considered crime not an artificial thing determined by law but a natural phenomenon, and the criminal a monstrous physical type partaking of the character of "savages" or animals.

Ferri, the third of this Italian group, stressed rather the complex characteristics of crime and recognized five different types of criminals: first, the insane; second, the born; third, the habitual; fourth, the occasional; and fifth, by passion. Ferri made much of the social causes of crime found in facts of congestion of population, opinions, institutions — families, industry, political organization, and the police system — and argued that since punishments generally failed to combat crime, efforts should be put into preventive measures.

## GORING'S INVESTIGATIONS

Thus while Lombroso and Garofalo carried forward the ideas of innate depravity, Ferri refines the notion of demonism into the causative conditions that make people criminal.

Lombroso's concept of a criminal type was generally accepted, and unfortunately still is by many people, until Doctor Goring, an English prison official, studied three thousand prisoners, all of them recidivists.\* Their head measurements were compared with those of one thousand undergraduates of Cambridge University. The results were negative. In none of the studies of physical stigmata by Goring was he able to distinguish any that were peculiar to criminals as compared with non-criminals. He found among criminals an inferiority in stature and body weight, but he did not find definite physical anomalies to support Lombroso's conception of a criminal physical type.

## INTRINSIC CAUSES

ALL THAT remains of value of the concept of innate depravity in modern explanations of crime is the fact that in some cases mental deficiency is correlated with criminal behavior. We have come to see that among the intrinsic causes of crime mental defect, which may be hereditary or because of accident or disease, does become a factor in some instances of criminal behavior. But the notion commonly held today by many people that criminals are mental defectives is not in harmony with the facts, for generally speaking, the intelligence of prisoners is much the same as that of the general population. When mental deficiency does enter into crime, it is also a factor in detection and arrest, and to that extent may be represented in prison populations slightly more than is true of the general population.

Emotional defect whether on a hereditary or a physical basis is also involved. Olson and Hickson made a study of many thousands of cases in Chicago and concluded that criminality is associated with average or above average intelligence, but with emotional defect, which handicaps the

\* Figures selected to prove case or more than case.

criminal in organizing his behavior around social rather than anti-social values.

The third type of intrinsic cause of criminality is the possession of personal wishes which are satisfied in anti-social ways. Sometimes people in their wish satisfactions do not understand what the legal behavior patterns are and therefore make errors in judgment. Or, understanding what they are, they deliberately violate them in the hope of securing a distinct gain without being detected.

Sometimes also crime may be extraneous from psychic tensions which have accumulated because of inability to satisfy certain personal wishes. Such may be illustrated by crimes committed under moments of intense passion, as in jealousy murders.

Fourth, there may be the gradual development of criminal attitudes and habits through membership in a criminal social world brought about by conditions and processes described earlier in a discussion of a "delinquency gradient." This is well illustrated by the ways in which children sometimes progressively adjust themselves to crime and solve their problems from their point of view more effectively in a criminal world than in a normal social world. Child gangs in cities often develop into criminal gangs.

#### EXTRINSIC CAUSES

OF THE extrinsic causes of crime, one may note first the laws themselves, both common and statute, which define behavior as criminal and which from time to time turn common behaviors previously accepted into criminal behavior as was the case in the prohibition law, plus the ineffective enforcement of these laws or the injustice of their administration, as well as inhuman police and prison treatment which aims at vengeful punishment. The latter policy creates attitudes of reprisal on the part of those who suffer and thereby makes for recidivism.

Second, are the divergent societal values reflected in competing and conflicting groups. This is illustrated best in big business where lawyers are employed, not to counsel what not to do because of the law, but to suggest plans that can be

carried out in spite of the law or within the law. Many other illegal methods of accumulation readily come to mind ranging from the border-rider of pioneer days to the exploiter of Wall Street speculation. There can be no doubt that the acquisition of tremendous fortunes through our industrial and financial incorporation is a definite factor in modern robbery and racketeering with its various criminal alliances. Our present economic order produces a tremendous concentration of wealth and a consequent conspicuous consumption. Though the laws may be clear on the point, other considerations might cause one to wonder whether the robber who steals the \$100,000 necklace is a greater menace to society than the husband who purchased it with resources secured by adulterating food products or manipulating a bear raid on the stock exchange.

Then there are facts of social disorganization which contribute towards the development of crime such as urban isolation. This makes criminal hide-away possible and separates criminal social worlds from normal social worlds. Such facts are: high population mobility with its loss of social control over personal behavior; immigration with the conflict of moral standards between older and younger generations and the conflict of alien and native cultures, bad home conditions as previously described; and bad neighborhoods where the companions and gangs and traditions and institutions, such as poolrooms, speakeasies, and dance halls suggest criminal behavior patterns.

Without doubt, too, journalism that plays up crime and puts the gangster on the front page, and the movies that exploit the dramatic climaxes of criminal experiences and reveal the attitudes and practices of criminal gangs play their rôle in the production of criminals.

Poverty, drunkenness, and the consumption of drugs are other contributing factors, together with social conflicts, quarrels, jealousies, and the like.

It is manifest, therefore, that the causal explanation of any crime is dependent upon the type of crime and the nature of the person committing it. But in all cases a crime is a complex phenomenon represented in the elements and char-

acteristics of the criminal personality as well as in the various societal factors that enter into the criminal behavior. It is apparent, therefore, that while some crimes may be detected and the guilty person apprehended by well-developed police techniques, the determination of the treatment of the criminal is a complex and difficult task for purposes either of rehabilitation or of prevention.

#### THE POLICE

Detection and trial of criminals is theoretically made in harmony with laws set up to apprehend the violator and to protect the innocent person. In the theory of American law a person is innocent until he is proved guilty. The attitude of those involved in legal procedure, particularly of the prosecutor, frequently represents quite the opposite point of view. It is the business of the police primarily to discover these offenders of law and to devise accurate and dependable methods of crime detection. Unfortunately in many cities the relation between the police and the dominant political organizations is so close that recruits into the police system are selected on the basis of political allegiance rather than personal capacity.

More recently great cities like Paris, London, and New York have established training schools for police officers. In these schools the students are taught the elements of law, methods of crime detection, humane but firm methods of handling criminals, and methods of crime prevention. Frequently the lack of education together with the habits that develop in handling criminals create cruel and vindictive attitudes in the police officer which make him both feared by the innocent and hated by the criminal. One of the most inhuman practices in crime detection is the third degree, which is a physically or mentally cruel treatment in the hope of securing a confession. Particularly is this used in case of murder.

#### DETENTION

Once the person is apprehended he is detained in a police station or municipal or county jail which on the average

throughout our country is a stenchy, filthy, and unsanitary place. Better practice requires detention places for women and keeps them separate from male criminals. One of the worst features of the detention system in America is the fact that many arrested persons who are innocent and finally acquitted and therefore deserve decent treatment do not get humane consideration; nor is there compensation for their loss of status, or their loss of income while they are detained. The bad practices at this point seem to develop on the theory that the arrested person may be guilty. But should not the state reimburse the person who is finally acquitted for the losses he has sustained?

Most of our common jails need to be closed as indecent and unsanitary. Meanwhile they should all be under the control of a central state agency in the interests of both justice and health.

#### TRIAL

AFTER a period of detention which frequently is entirely too long because the court calendars are overcrowded, the case is brought to trial in the courts. Under our system of charge and defense during trial many malpractices occur through the giving of bias and through the manipulation of charge and defense by the lawyers involved. While many people still defend the jury system, others raise serious question as to its validity. Formerly, in smaller communities where the people knew one another the jury system worked out very well, but under modern urban conditions where trial by newspapers is so frequent and the difficulties of selecting an unbiased jury are so great, in view of the recognition of the more complex cases of crime, the jury method is open to question. By playing upon the pity or sympathy of a jury sometimes guilty persons, particularly women, are acquitted and sometimes innocent persons are convicted. Examine in this connection the evidence submitted and the jury judgments in the cases of Mooney and Billings in California, and Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts.

In theory the jury passes upon the evidence submitted by the lawyers in charge and defense, but frequently judgments



are reached on the basis of circumstantial evidence which may be open to serious question. But more important still, too much weight is given to the "eye witness," simply because it is assumed that the eye witness observes correctly. Experimental studies in evidence have shown that observations by experts under controlled conditions reveal a very high amount of error. How easy is it then for a lay person, untrained in accurate observation, to see wrongly, especially under the emotional heightening due to the situation in which a crime is committed. For these reasons the substitution of experts for the jury, especially if our newer aim is treatment for rehabilitation rather than mere punishment, would be desirable.

Recall in this connection the Loeb-Leopold trial in Chicago, where by a plea of guilty the case was thrown immediately before the judge, who utilized the findings of experts in order to reach a fair decision.

Experimental studies in the establishment of expert testimony are in the nature of reaction studies, psychiatric examinations, and personality analysis, in order to get at the nature of the criminal as well as the circumstances incident to the crime.

When the jury has found the person guilty, it is then the function of the judge to fix the sentence, though in some cases juries may indirectly suggest the type of sentence that they consider appropriate. Newer trends at this point have developed either the suspended sentence under which the person is allowed to go free on condition that he does not offend again, or he may be subjected to an indeterminate sentence which makes the length of his imprisonment depend upon his good behavior and promise of reform.

One unfortunate aspect of many trials is the newspaper publicity given to them. Frequently the newspaper not only violates the private rights of the arrested person but others who may be closely connected with him. Furthermore, newspapers often take it upon themselves to gather evidence or to express judgments in the case, which may bias the proceedings. Theoretically, neither the judge nor the jury is supposed to be influenced by such conditions but even if the

Jurymen do not see the newspapers during a particular trial they have been influenced previously by newspaper reports of similar trials.

#### DEFECTS OF CRIMINAL PRACTICE IN AMERICA

MANY bills of indictment have been drawn against criminal procedures in the United States. These are of a character to make educators who are interested in contributing, directly or indirectly, to the solution of this great societal problem stop and think.

Some of these charges are as follows:

Criminal justice fails to apprehend a very considerable proportion of offenders.

Criminal justice fails to bring to conviction and punishment a very considerable proportion of those who are apprehended.

Criminal law to a large extent lacks essential information as to matters it has set out to deal with.

Criminal law is short of definiteness and certainty.

Criminal law has in its making too little of the scientific spirit and of the scientific method.

Judicial procedure is lacking in co-ordination and unity.

Criminal law lacks speed and expedition.

Criminal law is too sensitive to the rights of the accused.

Criminal law is not in a position of leadership or of authority in the onward march of civilization.

#### TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS

HISTORICALLY the treatment of the convicted person has expressed the Mosaic code of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth so that in the more serious forms of crime vengeance attitudes are prevalent, as in the death penalty. Another theory is that by punishing criminals crime will be repressed and thus the death penalty, whipping, incarceration, or a fine is imposed upon the criminal as an effort generally to repress crimes. But in spite of these punishments crimes continue and some forms, particularly in urban situations, actually seem to increase.

The newer theory of penology is that of reform or re-

habilitation. Authorities claim that it is not the death penalty which reduces crimes of murder but rather quick administration of justice, the quick apprehension and conviction of guilty persons. They suggest in lieu of the death penalty, which does not deter but which in some cases makes the righting of wrong judgments impossible, permanent imprisonment. Then in the case of later evidence which establishes the innocence of the prisoner restitution can be made, though as yet we do not include financial indemnification to the prisoner for judicial errors.

The newer policy aims at permanent custodial care in either prisons or hospitals when needed or aims at the re-education of the criminal to make him at least harmless, but better still, socially useful.

#### PRISONS

About the close of the eighteenth century in Pennsylvania and later in New York, the system of local jails was supplemented by state prisons and penitentiaries. At first the prisoners were herded together in large cells or rooms in place of the general herding in a common room, characteristic of earlier jails. The Philadelphia jail was regarded a failure and so provision was made for the building of penitentiaries which would utilize the principle of solitary confinement.

As a variation of the Pennsylvania system the Auburn prison was erected in New York. It developed an administrative plan of great importance, namely, congregate work by day and separate confinement by night with rigidly enforced silence at all times. Most of the other states have copied the cell system in which the cells are small rooms built to accommodate two prisoners and arranged along halls and watched by guards.

More recently these halls have radiated from a central guardhouse and in Joliet, Illinois, the cells are built in a circular wall with outside windows providing light and with the guardhouse in the center so that the guard can look into each cell from his central location. These round cell houses are arranged in turn in a circular fashion around the central

mess hall and connected by enclosed passage ways connecting the cell houses and the workshops. Thus the architecture of newer prisons has come to express the newer theories in penology in that the cells are made sanitary, light, and easy of supervision, and are utilized mainly for sleeping purposes. Workhouses and workshops have been included within prison walls in order to teach trades and vocations and to help the prisoners to provide for their own needs of clothing and the like. Unfortunately many of our prisons are so overcrowded that the good effect of these arrangements is lost.

#### THE MASSACHUSETTS SYSTEM

THE PRINCIPLE of careful differentiation of types of offenders is well illustrated in the Massachusetts Department of Correction which administers: 1 a state industrial prison for short-term offenders; 2 a reformatory for young male offenders with indeterminate sentences, industries, trade schools, military drill, and large farms as the features of this institution; 3, reformatory for women that provides training in household arts and finances, factories, and a farm (elementary education is included); 4 the state farm for the care of misdemeanors; 5 the prison camp and hospital to care for convicts suffering from tuberculosis; 6 a department for the criminal insane in which commitment is made by the recommendation of state alienists and the prison doctor with the approval of a judge of the superior court; 7 a department for defective delinquents who should not be sent to prison but who have criminal tendencies (these last are held under indefinite commitment and governed by military discipline with training in a variety of occupations); 8, a department for female delinquents; 9 a department for drug addicts (this is a separate ward at the State Farm).

#### ORDER AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE PRINCIPLE of self-government has been applied and expanded. It was first installed at the George Junior Republic in 1895 in connection with juvenile offenders but was introduced by Thomas Mott Osborne who as a result of a week spent in Sing Sing as a voluntary prisoner organized the

Mutual Welfare League. This was an effort to break up the old lock-step régime and to humanize the relations of the guards and prisoners for rehabilitation. There was a distinct improvement of prison discipline and so great was the personal attachment to Osborne that the men had many opportunities to escape but refused to do so. However, his method aroused much political opposition and he finally resigned as warden.

These earlier efforts have since affected the prison discipline to the extent that in various prisons the men undertake their own discipline, hold their own court to deal with offenses, carry on welfare and honor leagues, develop musical and dramatic clubs, and have education classes. Besides the leagues at Auburn and Sing Sing, there are similar organizations at East View, New York, the Westchester County Penitentiary, The Effort League, Wilmington, Delaware, The Honor Court, Jackson, Michigan, Harwood, Honor and Justice Club, Thomaston, Maine, Welfare and Honor League, Frankfort, Kentucky, Welfare League. However, such improvements have been occasional and have not yet been generally secured throughout the country as a whole.

Thus Thomas Mott Osborne revealed the basic principles of humane prison administration. His theory was simple, namely, to deal with prisoners as human beings capable of achieving self-respect and social adjustment. Through the organization of self-government he set up a miniature world within the prison which reflected the organization of life outside but which exploited the natural tendencies of prisoners to develop their own codes and to live by them by suggesting that society has and must have its codes, and by providing prisoners with the opportunity of appreciating societal codes while in prison. Thus were they preparing themselves for their return to normal life. While some prisoners did not respond to his appeal, conditions were so markedly changed that Osborne stands as a symbol of the new penology, a prison administration that aims at rehabilitation and not merely at punishment.

**RELEASE FROM PRISON**

RESPONSIBILITY for successful adjustment is placed upon the prisoner by the indeterminate sentence that notes good behavior within the prison and by release upon parole instead of freedom being granted upon the passage of a fixed period of time. Unfortunately, however, some of the good effects of parole are lost through poor administration of parole supervision and by untrained parole officers who administer the letter rather than the spirit of the law. The most tragic aspect of release from prison is the difficulty the prisoner has in adjusting himself to society. So often his prison status follows him to prevent his employment and in spite of his best intentions to go straight people make it almost impossible by stigmatizing him or refusing to co-operate with him. Conditions of ostracism, social or vocational, tend to drive him back into his criminal attitudes to his criminal world to secure necessary aid and living.

Our prison population has increased so greatly and costs for care have grown so heavy that in mere self-defense our states have taken up probation and the suspended sentence in order to reduce these conditions. In 1921 the cost to New York per person was \$499.39 whereas per probationer it was for the same period \$28.39. Seventy-three per cent of the adult probationers in New York were reported as definitely improved in 1921. Probation tends to enter the offenders in maintaining or regaining social status. Through wise probationary supervision the newer developments of professional standards have been applied in assisting prisoners in effect social readjustment.

**PREVENTION BY CAUSE**

As for the various methods which may be employed for preventing crime, we may note: simplification and clarification of laws; swifter and more just court procedure; clinical differentiation of type of criminals committed to institutions adapted to their needs; wise humane prison treatment; trained social workers as probationers; the removal of ob-

studies to prevention such as vested interests — newspapers, movies, opposition to paying taxes, and the like; sterilization of defectives, improved treatment of juvenile delinquents; scientific law making; clinical service — medical, psychiatric, and sociological; adult education, particularly with reference to parental care of children; occupations and incomes, schools, recreation, and the like.

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### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are some contrasts of influences upon children of different age-levels of drinking practices before prohibition and now?

2. How do you account for the fact that newspaper policy generally in the United States is against the Volstead Act while educators are outspoken in their support of it?

3. Is it wise for educators to take the position they do in view of the Report on Liquor Enforcement of the Wickersham Commission? What would be the effect if the electorate should modify present governmental policy?

4. What is a "crime wave"?

5. What evidence can you offer to show that the Italian criminologists would a priori be not correct and that Goring's results were certain?

6. Can the crime bill be charged against our public schools as some writers contend? If not, what part of it?

7. How do you think adult education could aid in solving the societal problem of crime?

**EXERCISE**

By an analysis of F. Thrasher, *The Gang*, or of C. R. Shaw, *The Jack Roller*, lay out a program of school policy with respect to crime prevention.



## CHAPTER XXII

### CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

**I**T IS QUITE obvious that the foregoing treatment of the major societal problems does little more than to suggest the dominant characteristics of each and to indicate briefly the methods of solutions that are being used. Nevertheless, it may be possible for the student to make some practical inductions from even such a brief treatment of societal problems.

How many of these societal problems existed at the time of the Colonial? Revolution? five hundred years ago? two thousand years ago? or at the dawn of history? Such historical records as the Mosaic Code and the Code of Hammurabi, together with suggestions that we may gather from other ancient historical materials that reveal the struggles between man and man, and tribes and tribes, show that social problems in their general aspects at least are not new. Ever since men developed organized community life, some suffered from insufficient food or clothes, or living conditions; some from poverty, others from crime; others from ignorance and inefficiency; others from disease; others from exploitation by the ruthless and powerful. "The poor you have always with you."

And yet a moment's further reflection shows that though these problems in their general aspects are not new, they are not exactly the same as before; the problems of poverty today are not of the same character as the problems of poverty in the medieval city; or the problems of crime, or those of exploitation. We may still have problems of poverty and crime and disease, but the details have changed with the changes

in technology or the inventions of material culture. Thus as affected by the industrial revolution our modern problems of poverty differ greatly in detail from the abject suffering of the poor faced with starvation under famine conditions. Our poor may be unemployed and from time to time may go hungry, but they do not have to eat grass in the last feeble effort to maintain life. This happens even today in the famine regions in North China.

The problems differ also because of the changes in the social environment; that is, the changes in societal institutions and laws, changes in the dominant attitudes and values of groups, social worlds, and communities. The general expansion and complication of culture, both material and ideological traits, create demands and new standards which fix new boundaries of human experience distinguished as adequate or inadequate, good or bad, legal or illegal. Thus society is constantly redefining its problems and recreating its techniques of solving them. And yet we must remember that the societal problems indicate the points at which human adjustment has failed. After these changes through inventions and the adjustments of institutions and attitudes to them are brought about, the very elaboration of culture as adjustment technique accentuates the number and kind of maladjustments.

Add to the foregoing constant increase in the mass of population and one begins to see that in spite of advances in the mastery of environments which man has achieved, his very mastery has created new limitations and new difficulties.

Nevertheless it is important to see that the roots of our modern social problems lie in the past. Not even that which may seem distinctly a new problem is actually so in every respect. Consider censorship as exercised in the monopolistic control of radio. It is possible for certain vested interests either to pack the Radio Commission with people who will do their bidding or to bulldoze them less powerful, who will attempt to compete with the greatest corporations in the field and thus be able to dominate radio transmission by refusing to allow undesirables to broadcast their ideas and theories or by crowding such broadcasting off the air. And yet this

would just be a new form of exploitation of the weaker elements of the community by the stronger. The ancient Hebrew social prophets thundered against the injustice done to the inarticulate lowly. Great portions of our national wealth may quickly be shifted through stock speculation and we may base our investment operations upon business cycles and statistical indicators, and yet Joseph in Egypt operating for Pharaoh was quite successful in cornering the wheat market of the world.

The facts that help to explain the high antiquity of most of these social problems are (1) that of unchanging original nature which man has not been able to affect by environmental improvements. Rather he has increased the problematic aspects of life by the creation of so much culture that those biological qualities which served him well in his first million years are now handicapped by the burden of culture that has relieved generations from the selective processes and has kept alive the unfit as well as the fit (2) The roots of modern problems lie in the past because of the expansion of inventions and the continuous accumulation of culture. In so far as cultural invention disturbs the adjustments previously effected, so that entire problems of each new generation have a historical connection with those of previous generations.

Since these social problems are not new except in their detailed aspects and since their roots lie in the past, it is obvious that our life today possesses degrees of adequacy dependent upon the extent to which earlier generations have worked at their solution. In general it may be said that the scientific approach to the solving of societal problems is relatively recent, due principally to the relatively recent invention of scientific methods and their application to the study of human behavior.

Each generation carries its obligation to effect the best possible solutions of its societal problems since the happiness and enrichment of the future generations as well as of the present depend upon the current efforts at solutions. The accumulation of knowledge of these inadequacies of life and of the improved methods of effecting adjustments must be

achieved by conscious and deliberate effort without which the sum total of deficiencies and suffering inevitably increases.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social problems admit of a variety of forms of classification, depending upon the particular phases of societal life which are being analyzed or stressed. For example, problems may be classified in terms of persons in relation to and controlled by groups. Such would be problems of optimum personality growth, problems of individualization or deviation from the type acceptable to the group as a whole (personality disorganization, "insanity," sickness, etc.), problems of invention, problems of change brought about through leadership.

Manifestly deviations, changes, and the like, are not necessarily problems in themselves but acquire a problematic aspect when they develop to the point that they may be considered excessive because they either threaten the safety of the group or interfere with the optimum qualities of personality determined by scientific criteria or by the practical appraisals of an effective group organization (law). In short, here would be listed all the problems that grow out of personalities that break through controls for the sake of expression or development.

*Per contra*, problems may be classified in terms of group efforts to control individuals through compelling submission to conventionality (delinquency, crime, etc.). Here would be the problems of maintaining customs, institutions, group unities, social order, and continuity. In short, problems of effective social and societal control.

Problems may also be classified in terms of institutions and organizations; how to readjust institutional practices and take up institutional lag (poverty, traffic improvement, housing congestion, and social injustice); how to maintain institutions; how to organize groups in the most effective ways for social control or for personality freedom. Such would be problems of deficiencies in family life, religious conservatism, economic injustice, problems of diseases of organizations such as over-organization, red-tape, and the like.

Or they may be listed as problems of processes and func-

tion. Such are problems of international rivalry, conflicts of groups, intolerance, and social distances, or problems of securing peaceful adjustment between conflicting groups. Problems of functions would be illustrated by needed inventions or improvements in maintenance, rational perpetuation, effective communications, regulation of behavior according to established standards, recreation opportunities, and ameliorations, in short, problems of eliminating the inadequacies and of expanding the adequacies of community life.

Obviously, also, societal problems may be classified in terms of practical agencies that either carry on institutional activities or eliminate their deficiencies. Such are the problems of improving probation services, establishing child welfare clinics, improving schools, vitalizing churches, increasing the efficiency of factory production and multitudes of others.

Finally social problems may be broadly classified in terms of rural and urban characteristics. In fact these distinctions should run through any other mode of classification. Societal conflicts vary in country districts as contrasted with urban areas. The former would be represented by economic problems such as the desires of farmers to have low freight rates and to market their products advantageously; the latter, by the desires of factory owners to employ workers as cheaply as possible in cities.

The differences between urban and rural life reflect themselves in problems of personality and social trends, the maintenance of conventional behaviors, institutions, and organizations, as between city and country. In general, it may be said that the provision of practical agencies and the maintenance of life or the improvement of it is more satisfactory in urban than in rural regions.

While the essential features of social phenomena may be the same in country and city, details may vary greatly and these details should be distinguished and emphasized so that technics of engineering could be adapted. It is not well to apply the same conclusions to children in rural regions as to those in cities. The conditions and types of life vary and efforts concerning them should represent differentiated

adaptations. This is the sociological basis for the theory and technique of rural education as distinguished from urban education.

However societal problems may be handled, it is quite apparent that these different classifications apply to the same range of data though from different angles or with different emphases. Societal problems are thus closely interrelated and an understanding of one type of problem involves an understanding of others. So, too, the solution of one societal problem depends upon concurrent efforts at the solution of other types of problems. Thus problems of education cannot be solved without integration of efforts for the solution of such problems as increasing wages, improved housing conditions, providing more adequate recreational facilities, discovering more complete knowledge of pupil personalities, political party control of tax support of schools and many others running throughout the gamut of community activities. Attempts at solution must be correlated and organized so that attacks on all these problems may be made at the same time. To press forward in the solution of economic problems and fail to advance in the solution of other phases of societal life leaves the economic gains quite uncertain. To make educational improvements out of harmony with the economic resources of a community or without consideration of the political aspects makes such gains questionable.

A. W. Small has insisted upon the point in his *The Meaning of Social Science* that social problems are not many but one by reiterating that "Social sciences are not many but one." That is to say, when he touches out the marginal differences of economics and politics and education, ethics and the like, he finds a fundamental core of knowledge which is common to them all. Thus he calls sociology. Similarly, when we find the common denominator of all the different kinds of societal problems that may be distinguished, we arrive at one conclusion—that there is, as Ellwood says in his *The Social Problem*, the social problem of living together in the most satisfactory and adequate way. This point of view is valuable in helping us to appreciate the unities and interrelations that exist. It gives theoretical sup-

port for councils of social agencies and other forms of community organizations that aim to integrate various institutional practices and improvements.

But in the actual day by day effort to solve societal problems, we must keep in mind a dual point of view: first, that since these problems are closely interrelated, efforts must be functionally integrated, and second, that the details of the problems can be differentiated and, therefore, that efforts must be adapted to the peculiarities of the problems.

#### WHAT IS A SOCIETAL PROBLEM?

BUT WHAT is a problem? We have discussed a number of the outstanding problems and have indicated some of their characteristics practically and theoretically. Can we from the foregoing induct a satisfactory definition?

We may distinguish social problems from societal problems by referring to a distinction earlier made that the concept "social" applies to groups of limited size and range, while "societal" applies to complex intergroup organization such as communities. What refers to small groups or to social worlds would be designated, then, as "social problems" and what refers to large-scale phenomena would better be referred to as "societal problems."

Sociologically, then, a problem refers to any situation or process that produces undesirable effects in society and calls for elimination, adjustment, or reorganization so as to secure personal or societal welfare.

#### INCREASED INTEREST IN SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

GENERAL interest in the solution of societal problems by the application of knowledge and methods developed through the social sciences has been relatively recent. The reasons for this increased desire to solve societal problems are: (1) the altruistic wishes of men; (2) the development of scientific charities as contrasted with the old sentimental almsgiving; (3) scientific legislation; (4) the rise of public welfare functions in government; (5) the stressing of these problematic conditions in life by the press, the muck-raker fiction and by considered critical opinion; (6) the rise and

development of social sciences; (7) increased instruction and teaching of civics, sociology, and other social sciences; (8) the attempt to apply practically the ethics of religion; (9) the general interest in national defense which calls for elimination of societal shortages to strengthen in every way the qualities of the total population; and (10) the freeing of women from domestic bondage — co-education, and the like, which have given women chances to express themselves in welfare activities such as teaching, nursing, and social work. Although these are not all the causes that have entered into the increased interest in societal problems, they represent by a sufficient sampling the complexity of causes and help us to realize that our present consciousness concerning the need of improving our community life is the outgrowth of many different lines of achievement in societal self-mastery.

#### DIFFICULTY OF SOLVING SOCIETAL PROBLEMS

It is one thing to distinguish or define societal problems but quite another thing to solve them. Man has been working at the solution of social problems from very early times, and yet they persist. Such problems are difficult to solve — first because of their complexity. The causes of human behavior are not simple nor singular but are varied, complex, or pluralistic and therefore efforts to control behavior must take into account these multiple causations. Not only are societal problems exceedingly complex, a fact which has limited our understanding of them, but as already noted, each kind of problem is interdependent. Moreover, frequently our efforts to solve these problems are halting and sporadic. Those who may profit by the present conditions in spite of the specific shortages of life in any one generation represent vested interests who strenuously defend the status quo. Leaders and reformers sometimes lack sufficient courage to struggle against such defenses because of their fear of losing status or even of martyrdom.

But perhaps more fundamental still we do not know enough about many phases of behavior causation so that our efforts are more in the nature of failure and success activities or common sense approaches than those of scientific tech-



nica. We have only begun to understand the elements and conditioning factors of personality and of societal organization.

There is, too, a lack of professional training on the part of many who in connection with their institutional participations in home or school, church, court, or factory do not possess sufficient skill to define these problematic conditions or to formulate standards for determining just what phase of societal life may be reasonably considered problematic. Just what degrees of health are necessary for literary production? for factory production? Precisely when and why is divorce an evil?

Thus commonly we confuse the issues found in societal problems because we, out of our ignorance, fail to distinguish between causes and effects. Fundamental traditional beliefs and sentimental attitudes unconsciously fortify the prevalent ways of any community and resist changes for improvement even when knowledge may be adequate to define the problems, or leaders may have courage to attempt their solution, or the needs of men cry out for fulfillment.

Lastly the solution of these societal problems is delayed because of a lack of co-ordinated effort among social workers, teachers, ministers, political leaders, philanthropists, and the like.

One concluding observation concerning the characteristics of societal problems is this. the solution of a societal problem depends upon (1) the constant increase of our knowledge of man and his behavior; (2) a rigid application of the best science available, which (3) must be tempered and enriched by a genuine human sympathy.

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The educator should have some idea about social work because of the visiting teacher.

NOTE: *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* contain current data and discussion of social problems. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* are journals of critical opinion on current issues, economic, political, and educational.

#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is a societal problem?
2. If societal problems are interrelated how can school work be integrated with that of other social agencies?
3. What is the work of a visiting teacher in solving societal problems as they reflect themselves in pupil readjustment?
4. If the major societal problems were solved, do you think there would still be problem pupils? Why?

#### EXERCISE

Devise a graphic classification of societal problems to show their interrelationships.



***Book IV***  
***Sociology: Methods and History***



## CHAPTER XXIII

### GETTING THE FACTS

#### DEFINITION OF A PROBLEM

OUR ABILITY to define a problem for investigation depends upon the state of knowledge concerning any area of human experience. The more we know, the more clearly can we define our problems. Thus it comes about that the different social sciences reveal different degrees of definiteness in the formulation of problems for investigation. In economics one can define quite precisely such a problem as "Variations in indexes of wholesale prices", or in political science, "Regional shift of political affiliation," because objective studies have gone forward sufficiently to suggest certain hypotheses as to characteristics of marginal areas of information.

It is in these marginal areas between certain knowledge and certain ignorance that the advances in scientific investigation are made. It is here that discussion rages over the definition of terms and methods of investigation. Presumably then in order to define well a problem for investigation there must first be familiarity with established knowledge. Otherwise, the hypotheses will be too questionable.

The definition of the problem aids an investigation because by its very definition it excludes some phases of the field while it precisely includes others. For example, in the problem, "Cultural analysis for determination of differential objectives in education," each term used suggests the exclusions and inclusions. "Education" suggests that the investigator does not intend to devote his attention to the purposes of politics or religion, but to analyze his data with

reference to purposes of education. Likewise, the term "cultural analysis" indicates the data that will be selected and the methods of cultural anthropology that will be utilized. The phrase "differential objectives" indicates the limitations in the purpose of the study—namely, that the investigator is seeking not to establish the contents of school subjects or methods of teaching any particular part of the curriculum but is striving to establish what outcomes of schools can be reasonably expected. And so, a clear definition of the problem to be studied suggests the significance of the knowledge to be gained through such investigation, as well as the data and methods which will be used to gather the data.

A problem precisely defined is, so to speak, half solved, whether it is a research problem or a practical problem, for then effort can be directed so as to make success more certain. Vagueness and confusion misdirect attention and mislead efforts. Economy of time and promise of success both demand the clearest possible definition of the problem for investigation.

#### SELECTION OF THE METHOD

WHAT method of investigation is to be used necessarily depends upon the nature of the problem and the character of the facts to be gathered. For example, "Teachers' incomes between 1920 and 1930 in the United States" would be a statistical or quantitative investigation. The formulation of this problem suggests that the investigator seeks data concerning the incomes of a particular professional class which we know from ordinary experience involves great numbers of people. The United States Census Bureau in gathering and presenting large scale data on age, incomes, marital status, and the like, for the United States as a whole, is the best single example of statistical or quantitative studies.

The establishment of educational activities of "Co-operative Societies" would be an historical study. "The truancy of John Smith" would be a case study employing analysis of the various elements of the situation and the factors that condition the elements. This may be called qualitative analysis.

On the other hand, a study of the work of a social agency, such as "The child-placing agencies of Chicago," would utilize all types of investigation. Certain facts would be dealt with statistically to indicate the number of children placed from year to year, the incomes of families with whom the children were placed, and the like. In tracing the origin and expansion of child-placing, in both theory and practice, historical methods would be used. And discovering just what types of homes children are living in and under what kinds of circumstances children are placed, would involve the qualitative or case method.

Once the problem has been defined, the next step is to determine upon the method to be used. The method will be suggested by the character of the facts included by the definition of the problem.

#### TYPES OF METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

SOCIOLOGICAL research should be distinguished from social investigation. Sociological research aims at the analysis of data which contribute to the pure sciences—the discovery of facts or the creation of techniques of research concerning social and societal questions. It is research that leads to theory, general principles, and perhaps eventually "laws" of human behavior. Social investigation, on the other hand, is the utilization of techniques established by sociological research to gather data about people and their behaviors.

The sources of materials for sociological research will be found first in bibliographies, library sources, such as books, pamphlets, reports, census tables, newspapers, journals, biographies, letters, and the like.

Another source of material will be field research, which takes the investigator out of the library into life situations for the examination of documents, deeds, decisions, and actions by groups as recorded in their minutes, records of private and public welfare agencies, or other organizations. The investigator makes use of social and business directories, telephone directories, mailing lists, and social register, police court records, school records, and the like.

Or third, the investigator will gather first-hand data by his



own observation. This observation may be recorded by language forms or by other means, such as photographs or moving pictures. The photographic method enables the investigator to gather records of elusive social experiences and to analyze them with as much time and care as they may warrant. Or he may proceed by participational observation, well illustrated in the study of Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*. By this method the investigator makes deliberate efforts to become a part of a group, participating in its activities yet at the same time recording what happens. The danger in this method is that in order to participate one must be so close to what is happening that his powers of observation may be limited by lack of perspective. He may see certain details to the exclusion of others. Furthermore, his participation must be carried on as nonvally as possible. Nonval participation always involves a certain amount of emotional expression which may tend to blindspot the observer. External observation overcomes this difficulty but frequently the very externality leaves him too distant from the data to discover it. The participational method brings the observer close to the activities. But he must be on his guard against mistaking single trees for entire woods.

Another method in field research is the interview which by oral questions seeks to get data of a confessional sort from other persons who have themselves observed or have been involved as actual participants.

#### PROCEDURES IN HANDLING MATERIALS

While conducting the library study or field research, it is well to formulate what has previously been done on the problem selected, or what contributions already made significantly relate to the special study in hand. It is helpful to assemble the source material in a technical way by recording it on some type of uniform record blank, such as a 4 X 6 card, which may then be given in each instance a topical heading to indicate the nature of the data recorded on the card. The card is superior to other methods because of its convenience in handling for record purposes and also for

filing data in the study program. The cards can be arranged and rearranged many times to facilitate analysis and induction.

As the facts are gathered they will have to be named. Here the investigator exploits the concepts and categories of the science in which he is working. When the data on the card fit the requirements of a certain definition of a concept, that concept is then applied to the data. By this means the data may be classified. Thus upon a certain card the observer may record an instance of a fight between two boys on a school playground, and the behaviors of the other children who watched the fight. The analysis of this instance proceeds by utilizing the sociological categories which the investigator has already mastered as applicable to the data. This instance he calls "social conflict" because the characteristics of the situation seem to him to fit the sociological definition he has already learned of the phrase "social conflict."

Manifestly as the investigation and the recording proceed he will find many instances which do not seem to fall clearly into one classification or another. These are marginal cases. The less developed a science is the more readily one discovers marginal cases, because the concepts for classification and comparison are insufficiently developed. Thus in the illustration already noted, there is a case of "social conflict" in that two boys are fighting, but what about the twenty or more children who are watching the fight? Does their behavior readily classify under the term "social conflict"? Would it be the same if all of these children were fighting with one another? Would it be the same if these children were organized into two distinct groups which were attacking each other as organized groups? The latter instances represent deviations from the original one and as such might be marginal cases not readily classified under the established category.

The existence of marginal cases indicates the need for further development of a science and is the area in which research is most needed. New concepts have to be de-

veloped for these marginal cases and new definitions have to be formulated. Thus does a science expand its system of names for the phenomena it records and utilizes.

When the data are observed, recorded, classified, and compared, it is then possible to make inductions or generalizations. The sum total of inductions and generalizations in a certain field constitutes the body of knowledge of that science. In sociology these inductions and generalizations must be checked up and tested by continued observation of subsequent phenomena. In educational sociology they can frequently be tested by actual experimental conditions in the classrooms or even in communities.

#### SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

As previously noted, social investigation is the gathering of data on social or societal phenomena. It is an effort to find out what certain people do in particular circumstances. It is not concerned with establishing "laws," which is the business of sociology. Its function is to gather data which may then be analyzed sociologically. The special inquiry is usually an investigation of a limited phase of societal phenomena. Sometimes it is called the monograph method or case study. Such would be an investigation into "The leisure time activities of senior high-school girls."

The common method in investigation is to proceed by questionnaire, or better still, *interview*. The latter is a list of statements or questions to be answered by "yes" or "no," or by simple checks. The principles for drawing up a questionnaire are:

1. Familiarize self with the available knowledge and previous studies closely related to the problem under investigation.

2. Work out a general scheme for presenting data before determining details of schedule.

3. Try out a schedule in a preliminary way.

4. Make questions of a questionnaire or items of a checklist (answeraire) simple and definite. (Aim to have them understandable by the least intelligent of the persons who are to fill out the schedule.)

5. Wherever possible the reply should be a "Yes" or "No," or a check ( $\checkmark$ ), or a numerical figure (\$1800).

6. Have as few items as possible. (The fewer the questions the better the chances of getting results.)

7. Put no "riders" into the schedule. (That is, do not add items to find out things you would like to know by exploiting the opportunity the schedule presents.)

8. Ask only the questions that will meet a definite purpose.

9. Do not ask questions whose answers you can find out from other sources, such as newspapers, reports, and the like. If your information is in print seek it out yourself without bothering others for it.

10. Ask questions that will be answered and truthfully. Do not arouse resentment or suspicion by your questions.

11. Avoid leading questions.

12. Alter, try-out, revise rigidly, and cut, cut, cut to fewest possible items.

Whenever a questionnaire or answerware is used, it is necessary to have some device for checking its reliability in order to determine whether the people who made the checks were truthful or were pretending. A questionnaire needs, therefore, to be checked as to its reliability by analysis of its internal evidence or by comparing with actual behavior observed in real circumstances represented by the items of the check list.

It is highly important at the outset to determine the statistical unit so that the questionnaire will procure the information desired. The purpose of the questionnaire is to get the data from many people quickly in order to make effective comparisons. If the statistical units are well defined, the procedures in statistical analysis are greatly facilitated. Sometimes the question or answer items are so poorly set up that the person filling out the blank cannot indicate his answer by a mere check, but must express himself in a lengthy statement indicating reservations and interpretations. Such results complicate the investigation and reduce the value of the questionnaire as a method of gathering special data.

Other methods of the special inquiry are the interview,

the use of personal history data, confessional documents, diaries, letters, and the like. They also include the making of measurements, physical, mental, material, or personal, either by complete enumeration—counting each item which is included by definition of the problem—or by sampling

#### SAMPLING

SAMPLING is the selection of a limited number of items which are assumed or proved to be typical of the entire run of data. It is to social investigation what sounding is to the making of marine maps. It is used when the inquiry is too limited by staff, or time, or money to make a complete enumeration. The principal caution at this point is to make sure that the sample is representative. Manifestly the greater knowledge which the investigator has of the data, the more competent is he to determine the representative character of the sample. Lacking this he must depend upon internal evidence by statistical analysis.

Wherever possible a good statistical sampling is one in six. That is, if the total number of cases to be studied in connection with the problem is 6000, and the investigator by questionnaire or interview secures pertinent data on one thousand cases, the results could be considered as an adequate sample of the entire range of data. Frequently, however, small samples have to be used when the data are too great to get even a one-to-six sampling. Then the adequacy of the sample has to be determined by internal evidence.

The social investigation or special inquiry devotes its attention to some particular phase of life, such as "School attendance in X city," or "The increase in school taxes from 1900 to 1930," or "The work of employment agencies in X city." Here the definition of the problem merely delimits some phase of societal life for special investigation, and does not relate to other phases of life.

#### THE SOCIAL SURVEY

When, however, a number of special inquiries are integrated and organized so that a fairly comprehensive picture of all phases of community life is secured, the method is called

the social survey. A social survey is, then, an organic method of study of the total situation in a community as a stock-taking preliminary to social effort. It contrasts with social investigation by its comprehensiveness.

Frequently special inquiries are called surveys, especially in the field of education. But technically a survey means an investigation of all the different phases of a community. An educational survey would thus study not merely attendance, problem-pupils, per unit cost, but these and all the related phases of life in a community.

The essential feature of a survey is that it proceeds by a series of special investigations which are not isolated and separate but which are integrated and correlated so as to take due account of the interdependence of various institutions and agencies. A community social survey would then include not only education but recreation, industry, transportation, homes and family life, justice, courts, prisons — in short, all the distinguishable features of a community.

So far our social surveys have utilized fairly well techniques for describing the structural and more objective aspects of a societal situation. But to these must be added methods for discovering the attitudes and ideals of people who make up a societal situation. Traditional social surveys have failed to use some of the newer sociological methods.

But whatever the defects of surveys, they have distinct advantages over special inquiries in their comprehensiveness, which reveals the mutual conditionings of institutions and agencies. For example, they study the economic life of a community together with government and politics and religion at the same time that they investigate education. It is possible to see more clearly then how the facts of other institutions and agencies relate to the facts of education in a causative manner.

The special inquiry may be undertaken in lieu of the social survey only when the limitations of the monograph method are kept clearly in mind, namely, that the specialized character of the inquiry necessarily limits the validity of the findings within the field of study and by the methods used. The findings are what they are, which may be very different

from what they would be if the same facts were studied by the survey method.

Whether the data are gathered by a special inquiry or a more complete survey, the analysis should proceed in a dual manner to establish in quantitative and qualitative terms a symbolic representation of the activities and relations and patterns of the behaviors of people.

#### QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Quantification is possible only when distinct units of investigation are set up, units that repeat themselves. It seems impossible to quantify social interaction, and yet by breaking it up into experience-moments one can measure quantities of the participations of people. For example, a complete list of wishes expressed in a diary record may be made. The amount of time spent in satisfaction of each type of wish may be noted. That wish which has the greatest amount of time spent upon it may be considered the dominant wish. Thus "dominance" is determined partly by "amounts of time." Certain it is that the development of accuracy in sociology depends upon the use of quantitative analysis for all those phenomena that are sufficiently recurrent to be handled by statistical methods.

Sufficient recurrence frequently depends upon accuracy of observation and record. Thus in the field of social case work the records have been inadequate or else the descriptive units have been so varied that statistical formulation has been difficult, if not impossible. But with the recent improvements in recording data and in the collection and organization of case records, it is becoming increasingly possible to apply statistics even to social case work.

In every sort of study quantitative analysis should be supplemented by qualitative analysis, for, after all, statistical analysis represents abstraction in its attempt to show the central tendencies of data. Such analysis cancels out the particular. Variations are noted but they tend to be lost.

This abstraction by statistics can be offset by presentation of cases to give concrete meaning to the statistical findings. Cases should be selected in terms of type deviations, as well

as of type homogeneities or modes. Then qualitative analysis will put nerves and sinews upon the skeleton of quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis, furthermore, represents efforts to present a synthetic picture in that the case method stresses all the different aspects of a total situation — personalities, attitudes, interactions, taken as complexes of processes or products, and their conditioning factors. Seeing these things in relation to one another is the important outcome of qualitative analysis and offers valuable correction to statistical findings.

Either quantitative or qualitative analysis, therefore, is distinctly defective when used alone. The former gives tendencies in recurrent phenomena but lacks comprehensiveness. The latter gives complete case pictures but lacks evidence as to whether they are exceptional or typical. Therefore, a combination of both statistical and case methods is the best procedure.

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#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why does a method of investigation need to be adapted to the character of the problem?
2. What is meant by a "control group", by an "experimental group"?
3. Why does statistical method have to be supplemented by case studies and vice versa?
4. What are the significant differences between inquiries and surveys? Under which category do "school surveys" fall? Why?
5. What is meant by qualitative analysis? By the monographic method? By "differential socioanalysis"?
6. What distinctions can you make between social investigation and sociological research?

#### EXERCISE

Select and define an educational problem for investigation and suggest a plan of sociological research into it.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### SOCIOLOGY—ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATUS

#### SOCIOLOGY—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

**V**ARIOUS historical streams of thought have flowed into the expanding river of modern sociology. American ideology has been enriched by the European and Mediterranean cultures. The tracing of the origin and development of sociology leads us through Europe and back to the contributions of leaders and thinkers who lived around the Mediterranean basin. These various influences that have created modern sociology are the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman, the Saracenic, the Medieval, the French, the English, and the German.

#### THE HEBRAIC STREAM—REFORMIST ATTITUDE

THE HEBRAIC influence, which may be characterized by the reformist attitude, derives from the Christian tradition and the reading of the Old Testament both for religious and literary purposes. From the Moses and Ten Commandments come certain concepts of ethical obligations. These patterns of behavior that were evolved during the pastoral life of the ancient Hebrews are not only reflected in some of our institutions and laws, but also in the common thinking of many people.

The prophetic protesters against the social injustices of Hebraic ecclesiasticism—Amos, Hosea, II Isaiah, and Proverbs proclaimed new and dramatic changes in the ethical patterns of behavior. Jahweh is conceived as desiring not the

smell of burnt offerings, but the sweet savor of justice, mercy, and the care of the poor and dependents.

Following the lead of these Hebrew protestants in their revolt against the priestly codes, Jesus enunciated his social teachings. All of these contributions are significant because they aim, whether in the Mosaic code or later ethics, at the reform of human relations and the improvement of society. Their objectives were one but their methods were different.

#### THE GREEK STREAM — PRAGMATIC ATTITUDE

THE GREEK philosophers and poets, characterized by the pragmatic attitude of evaluating human relations in terms of outcomes, represent the second great stream of thought. While much of the Hebraic ideology was modified by Greek and Alexandrian philosophy and thus mediated to Europe chiefly through Christian theology, nevertheless distinct contributions derive from the achievements of the Greeks. For example, the pre-platonic dominating concept was that might was right, an implication reiterated throughout the historical documents of the Old Testament that God is on the side of the victorious Hebrews.

Socrates presented the claims of the individual intellect and set the stage for the outstanding contributions of his two great followers, Plato and Aristotle.

Plato developed in his *Republic* and *The Laws* significant concepts of society and human relations. He recognized, for example, the organic nature of the community and distinguished in general three classes of people — gold, silver, and lead, likened to the head, body, and feet of a person. These stations represent the upper classes, the élite, the aristocracy, the intelligentsia; the middle classes; and the lower classes, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the peasants and unskilled laborers. He insisted upon the essential interdependence of these various types of people from which he derived his conception of the division of labor in society according to natural capacities, and then stressed the rôle of education for the development of these capacities. He analyzed various types of government which should have a

rational basis in the aristocracy. He also analyzed the sources of strife and presented the possibility of communism.

He argued for an application of the principle of a proportional equality, a reflection of the principle, "To him that hath, shall be given." He set up the ideal of selective mating and what we call today eugenic reproduction, thus advocating the constant improvement of biological capacities. His central question was, "What is a good man, and how is he made?" He found his answer to these questions by analyzing the relations of men in their various organized reforms and revolts against earlier Socratic individualism and argued for communism.

Aristotle in his *Politics* wrote "Man is a political (social) animal." He recognized the rôle of evolutionary separation of functions and the combination of efforts made necessary by natural inequality. But he revolted against Plato's communistic concept with respect to the institutions of property and marriage. He regarded society in the form of the state as prior to family and village, and followed Plato's conception that all men seek the good but go wrong through ignorance. His notion of political justice was that the tools should be given to those that can use them. He elaborated the balance of power concept, and considered the origin of human behavior to be conscious striving for ideals; and yet recognized the sex impulse as basic in human relation. He analyzed forms of social evolution and the forms of family and government organization, and recognized the rôle of speech as distinguishing human from other societies. He argued that legislators should be familiar with economics. He too was an advocate of education, contending that "both the wives and children of a community should be instructed corresponding to the nature thereof." The function of education is to make the people in a community one, that is, to develop social unity and solidarity. He saw the need and value of the "art of buying out towns," because "a city is a society of people joining together with their families and their children to live together agreeably for the sake of having their lives as happy and as independent as possible." He conceived law as the major method of societal control, both

within the city state and in external relations; and stressed democracy as deriving from the equality which law creates.

The Sophists were educators who claimed to prepare pupils for civic life through a general education to be tested by practical success. They stressed not truth but virtue and excellence and strove for an aptitude for civic life. Protagoras said, "Man is the measure of all things." The great defect of this school was an indifference to truth because of their commitment to the indoctrination that labored to persuade and failed to handle materials scientifically. In their education they attached importance to form and not to matter.

The Epicureans stressed the desires and feelings, and the rôle of emotion in human behavior, deprecated purely scientific pursuits and urged man to go back to nature, to give up reasonings and get at feelings as an enduring foundation for ethics in human relations—"Sensation is the touch-stone of truth." They eliminated Divine interference and considered the gods a product of nature in the upholders of the world. They conceived the cosmic processes as natural—and insisted upon multiple causation—"Society is a device for co-operative efforts." The good is determined by the feelings, rather than by the intellect. But, the good is here interpreted in terms of happiness to be secured through the feelings under the guidance of the intellect.

The Stoics were primarily interested in social relations and argued for the suppression of feelings by the intellect. Their general principles were: man and nature are products of Divine creation and guidance, from which they inducted the concept of human brotherhood and found man innately sociable. To them the law of nature is the law of God. Virtue is a law that governs the universe. Justice is natural, not merely conventional. The individual must subordinate himself to the needs of society for the members exist for the sake of one another. There are no differences between Greek and Barbarian, male or female, bond or free; all are equally men, the wise are free and the unwise are slaves. Virtue is secured by exercise, effort, and training. Education functions for the development of reason, is not intuitive nor innate.

## ROMAN CONTRIBUTIONS—LEGAL ATTITUDE

THE ROMAN thinkers contributed the legal attitude. Cicero, one of the more important writers on laws, stressed the equality of human nature as a fundamental law of nature which is the source of justice and law and not utility, therefore, justice is external and immutable. He insisted that men differ in learning but are equal in the capacity for learning—"There is no race which under the guidance of nature cannot attain to virtue," "By nature we are supposed to love men," this is the foundation of law; a conception of fraternity significant in the slogans of the French Revolution. The State is founded upon and represents the highest justice. It is made up of people under a common law. Society is a natural outgrowth of the nature of man but the institutions developed in society check and hamper human nature. He regarded the state as an outgrowth of the family, but contended that social organization must conform to human nature.

The Roman lawyers saw law and custom as the sources of authority, and of justice and right. They distinguished types of law, natural law, tribal law, and civil law. Because of their theory of law they regarded slavery as growing out of tribal law and not out of common law, and, therefore, said that slavery in certain cases is rational law and in others is contrary to nature, thus linking up their legal conception to the notion of varying abilities. To enslave a capable person would, therefore, be contrary to nature. The people constitute the sole ultimate source of authority in the state. Therefore, custom has the force of law because it is immaterial whether the people declare their will by vote or custom.

## THE SARACENIC INFLUENCE—ANALYTIC ATTITUDE

NATURAL LAW was introduced into this developing stream by virtue of the Saracenic invasion. The Arabic stream was a very deep one and warranted a crop of thought representative of the culture of the Moslems, which was mediated to us through Europe. Their natural science was the

foundation of an unusual development of medical science in which they set forth their knowledge of the natures of foods, stimulants, the humors of the body, and the like. They had a highly developed mathematics and a natural philosophy — Pythagorean.

The faithful brethren ■ Basra wrote the encyclopedia ■ the sciences and a criticism of human society in the *Book of the Animal and the Man*. This work developed a logical organization of concepts and recognized types ■ the realm of nature — genus, species, and individual. Their psychology is represented by such statements as: "The soul of the child is at first like a white sheet of paper," "What the five senses convey to it is first presented, then judged, and later stored up in the front, middle, and hinder parts of the brain respectively," "Through the faculty of speech and the art of writing, which make up the number of the internal senses to five—" "Hearing and sight constitute the group of the intellectual senses . . ." "Man possesses external senses in common with the lower animals," "The specific nature of human reason is modified in judgment, speech, and action."

The points of emphasis of Saracenic thinking were on causation; on the influence of environment — the conditions of the state determine the lot of its citizens, on rational reflection as distinguishing man from animals; on inequality in that humanity occupies different levels; on differences of individuals; on society which is possible through love for fellow human beings; on ethics, a social ethics conceived as social activity in remuneration; on science — mathematics, astronomy, geography; and on history, which was a record of facts to discover causal relations.

This last emphasis led to a foreboding of social evolution in the view that history is a record of facts, not a myth or miracle. The Saracens regarded the subject of history as the collective material and intellectual culture of society. "History has to show how men work and provide themselves with food; why they contend with each other and associate in larger communities under single leaders, how at last they find in a settled life leisure for the cultivation of the higher

arts and sciences, how finer culture comes into bloom in this way out of rude beginnings."

This general conception is developed by Ibn Kahludn, who distinguished forms of society as Nomad, Military, and City. He used an economic classification of men and nations, employing the concepts Nomads, Settled Herdsmen, and Agriculturists. He analysed the rôle of war which leads to dynastic authority; he observed the development of cities, the division of labor, mutual assistance, prosperity, and degeneration; he noted how labor is exploited, that the rich become richer and the poor become poorer until there is a final internal break-up—in short, he noted the cyclical character of civilization.\*

#### MEDIEVALISTS—THEOLOGICAL ATTITUDE

THE NEXT important contributions came from the medieval thinkers characterised best by the theological attitude. They were the dreamers, who under the impulse of Christianity and the Christian conception of Heaven described Utopias.

First comes Dante's *De Monarchia*, with the vision of a universal empire which unites all nations of the earth and makes happiness possible. Dante well illustrates the combination of Hebraism and the Alexandrian philosophy of the dreamers of Christianity with Roman law, all of which were mediated through the church fathers who enthusiastically established other-worldly objectives.

Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, with his conception of a four-fold classification of society—(1) the bondsmen to do menial labor; (2) the middle class or artisans to do the skilled labor; (3) the intellectuals, who are given to learning and exempt from manual work only if they are successful; and (4) the rulers, who are the ambassadors, priests, and the like. The latter are derived from the intellectuals and the intellectuals from the middle-class artisans. Promotion is, therefore, the central method of social control.

Campanella's *City of the Sun*, 1623, sets up an ideal commonwealth in which governments are guided by commissions that deliberately seek social data and apply them to govern-

\* De Boer, T. J., *Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903.



ment, and fostered by an education that accustoms boys to learn all the sciences "without toil and as if for pleasure"; "but in the way of history only until they are ten years old." He foresaw eugenic mating, forms of communism, self-love and state-love as the basis of private property, health control. ("It is the duty of the medical officers to tell the cooks what repasts shall be prepared on each day, what food for the old, what for the young, and what for the sick." "They judge their clothes . . . according to circumstances and necessity as decided by the officer of health.") He also conceived III child nurture in temples, set apart and under the direction of physicians during early life and then under special mistresses if a female child, and under masters if a male, for purposes of instruction. After their sixth year they are taught natural sciences and then the mechanical sciences. The men who are weak in intellect are sent to farms and the proficient are received into the State.

On labor and leisure, one reads: "But in the City of the Sun while duty and work are distributed among all, it only falls to each one to work about four hours a day, the remaining are spent in learning joyously, in debating, in reading, in writing, in walking, in exercising the mind and body, and in play. What with them all, the rich and poor together make up the community." This is Campanella's curriculum.

He also offered a classification of the sciences: "But wisdom is the ruler of the liberal arts, of mechanics, of all sciences with their magistrates and doctors, and with the discipline of the schools. As many doctors as there are, are under III control. There is one doctor who is called Astrologus; a second, Cosmographus; a third, Arithmeticus; a fourth, Geometra; a fifth, Historiographus; a sixth, Poets; a seventh, Logicus; an eighth, Rhetor; a ninth, Grammaticus; a tenth, Medicus; an eleventh, Physiologus; a twelfth, Politicus; a thirteenth, Moralis. They have one book which they call *Wisdom* and in which all the sciences are written. . . ." This is Campanella's ideal university curriculum and faculty, made up of (using modern names) Professors of Astronomy, Geology, Mathematics, Geometry, History, Poetry, Logic, Rhetoric, Grammar, Medicine, Physiology, Politics, and

Morals. Finally he argued for the equality of the sexes in that they should be clothed and trained alike, but noted that those occupations which required more hard work should be practiced by men, while the sedentary and stationary pursuits should be practiced by women.\*

Francis Bacon wrote in Latin his *New Atlantis*, which was published in 1629, after his death. He sought through experimental science a dominion over nature. In his ideal world science is made the civilizer that binds man to man. He laid great stress on the development of a technology applied to the control of human limitations. He divided his society into eleven different social classes: (1) "the merchants of light," to bring in knowledge; (2) deceptors, to collect experiments in books; (3) the mystery-men, to collect experiments of mechanical arts and liberal sciences; (4) the pioneers, to try new experiments; (5) miners, to think good thoughts; (6) compilers, to compile results of functions of the privileged classes; (7) the benefactors, to make practical use of the results of experiments; (8) "lamps" to institute still more penetrating experiments; (9) inoculators, to conduct these experiments; (10) interpreters of nature to generalize on the latter; and (11) novices and apprentices. He had scientific journals for publication of the results of scientific endeavor.

Thus gradually the Utopian conception changed from the expressions of Heavenly relations to societies based upon the application of scientific method and results.

#### THE FRENCH STREAM — CRITICAL ATTITUDE

THE FRENCH stream of thought contributed the critical attitude. Jean Bodin (1530-1596) stressed factual observation. Descartes (1596-1650) stressed evidence and scientific method. Montesquieu (1689-1755) in his *L'Esprit des Loix* (1747) stressed the analysis of historical causation to discover the relationship between institutions and environment. He pointed out the dependency that existed among the various sciences. He advocated the deductive method but failed to make use of it. He viewed man as living only in society

\* Morley, *Abel Chappin*, London 1822-23, Ed., pp. 217-262.

and made important contributions to penology by showing that crucifixion and penalties do not increase obedience to law.

Then followed Diderot (1713-1784) and the Encyclopedists. This school represents a definite move toward a critical appraisal of "science" as it had been advocated by Bacon and others.

Helvetius (1713-1771) follows with important contributions to education as a means of social achievement. He observed the relation of law to environmental factors. He recognized the inequalities of man as due to various circumstances as well as to man's own nature, and regarded man as educable. Education will make men of enlightenment and even men of genius as numerous as they have been heretofore scarce. Thus man is a product of his education. He regarded general utility as the foundation of morality, a conception which found fuller expression subsequently in the famous British thinker, Jeremy Bentham.

Rousseau (1712-1778) in his *Social Contract* (1762) considered man as innately good but developing the nature he has as a result of social intercourse, surroundings, education, and the like; though he regarded primitive man as originally anti-social. Because of the important rôle of education he argued for equal opportunity for all. He desired an education that would prevent a social man from being entirely artificial and urged conformity with nature.

Condorcet (1743-1794) in his *Progress of the Human Mind* (1795) presents the "stages" concept of social evolution. He saw man developing in firmities and distinguished epochs in human history: first is that of borders when people lived by hunting and fishing; second, a pastoral stage; third, the invention of alphabetical writing; fourth, a division of sciences and specialization (beginning with Aristotle); fifth, the decline of sciences through the influence of Christianity, which refused to ask questions; sixth, the decline of learning under the influence of the Crusades; seventh, the revival through the development of learning and printing; eighth, freedom in science; ninth, the period of contributions of Descartes to the French Republic; and the final epoch which is discussed as the future program of mankind. Such was Con-

dorcer's basic organization of ideas on the progress of the human mind.

He regarded history as a basis of provision in the interests of societal control. He argued for equal suffrage, equality of opportunity for development, and considered education as the immediate means of securing social progress — "We might show a happy source of subjects to be taught and of the mode of inculcating them; the entire mass of the people may be instructed in everything necessary for the purposes of domestic economy, for the transaction of their affairs; for the free development of their industries and their faculties; for the knowledge, exercise and protection of their rights; for a sense of their duties and the power of discharging them; for the Capacity of judging both their own Actions and the actions of others by their own understanding; for the acquisition of ■ the delicate or dignified sentiments that are an honor to humanity; for freeing themselves from a blind confidence in those to whom they may entrust their interests and the security of their rights . . . so as no longer to be the dupes of those popular errors that torment and waylay the life of man with superstitions, fears and chimerical hopes; for defending themselves against prejudices by the sole energy of reason; in fine, for escaping from the delusions in posture which would spread wars for their fortune and health and freedom of opinion and of conscience under the pretext of enriching, of healing, and of saving time." (Pp. 63 ff.) Condorcet took up the bold idea of applying mathematical analysis to social phenomena.

The same general line of reasoning was followed by Saint Simon (1760-1825) who argued for scientific and objective approach to the study of society in the interests of progress and peace, and by Fourier (1773-1837) who pointed out prevalent social wastes and the need for amelioration. Quetelet (1796-1874) and Le Play both applied statistical treatment to social data.

#### THE ENGLISH STREAM — PRACTICAL ATTITUDE

THE ENGLISH stream of thought, best characterized by the practical attitude, represents the contributions of a famous

line of thinkers, such as Adam Smith, who in his *Moral Sentiments* (1817), and *Wealth of Nations* attempted to explain the social forces. He was followed by Hobbes (1588-1679) who in his *Leviathan* (1685) regarded men as fundamentally anti-social, but who compact for peaceful co-operation in the course of which they develop absolute government. Then came Locke (1634-1704) who further carried forward the notion of natural rights and individual independence, which makes it necessary for men to contract themselves into groups to form representative government, but always with the right of revolution.

Then came the development of the Utilitarian School of Philosophy which advocated social reform. The earliest was Bentham (1748-1832) who argued for the happiness of the greatest number; analysed forms of social control; advocated a revised criminology, in pointing out that criminals should be rehabilitated rather than punished; developed a "Panopticon," or circular prison; showed the need for pauper and vocational education as well as civic education; and also indicated the superiority of attractive legislation — the notion that legislation should indicate rewards rather than punishments. Then followed Malthus (1766-1834) with his theory that population increases by geometric progression while the means of subsistence expand by arithmetical progression, thereby setting an eventual limit to the possible size of nations or of the world as a whole. Then James Mill (1773-1838) who foreshadowed our modern interest in adult education by advocating all-round education to be continuous throughout life, and his son John Stuart Mill, who first set forth the modern elements of scientific method in terms of induction, deduction, and testing. He emphasized the need of avoiding simple explanations of phenomena and set forth his well-known theories of human liberty while at the same time he took due account of the need and nature of social control.

Buckle (1821-1862) in his *History of Civilization in England* (1857-1861) expressed the theory of geographical determination of human history. He conceived knowledge as a condition of progressive evolution.

## THE GERMAN STREAM — HISTORICAL ATTITUDE

ANOTHER stream of social thought that flowed into the developing river of modern sociology is the German, which can best be characterized as the historical attitude. In its earliest form, it was expressed in a theory of statehood, developed by the Cameralists, who were administrators of principalities. They were interested in studying social facts for the sake of meeting the practical needs of government. Their central problem was, "How may a state maintain itself and defend its foreign acquisitions?" To them the welfare of the state was the supreme concern. Thus they developed political economy as a combination of facts necessary to the internal security of the state and to commerce and finance.

Following the Cameralists there grew up an important school of historians who stressed methodology. Their aim was the study of history to derive principles for the purpose of codifying state laws. Thus Savigny (1779-1861) regarded law as having a continuous natural history; and Eichhorn (1755-1827) emphasized a broad and complete approach to history which would take due account of the various factors or causes of human events (pluralistic explanation); and finally, Niebuhr (1776-1831) who insisted that historical studies should be thoroughly documented with evidence.

Under the pressure of conditions created by the Franco-Prussian war many reforms were advocated, but these reforms were based upon systematic inquiries into conditions of social life. This whole stream of German social thinking was mediated into America after the Civil War by American graduates of German Universities.

## MODERN SOCIOLOGY IN EUROPE — THE PHILOSOPHIC ATTITUDE

ALL OF these various influences, the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman, the Saracenic, the Medieval, the French, the English, and the German in time converged and established modern sociology in Europe, which was characterized mainly, in spite of its assumptions, by a philosophic attitude. Auguste Comte (1798-1857) is considered the founder of sociology but

chiefly because he first used the name "Sociology" for the discovery of laws of human society. He pointed out that there are three stages in scientific development: the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. He classified the sciences as follows: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and social physics (sociology). It remained for later writers to give meaning to Comte's early suggestions of the possibility of sociology as a science of human society.

F. B. Tylor (1832-1917) published his *Primitive Culture* in 1871. This was a description of primitive peoples, customs, organizations, and the like. Then in 1872, Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, which was essentially a validation of the concept of evolution previously set forth by Lamarck and Darwin's own father. In this same year Herbert Spencer published the first book with a title that included the word "Sociology," namely, the *Study of Sociology*, in which he attempted to utilize the theory of cosmic evolution in the analysis of human societies. He gave much attention to primitive societies and developed descriptive and structural sociology. Society was conceived by him as an organism with its own life history. His genetic philosophy led him into a *laissez-faire* attitude toward improvements. He did not believe in social reform, but trusted nature in the course of time to achieve her evolutionary ends even in human relations.

Lilienfeld in his *Thoughts on the Social Science of the Future* (1873-1881) also conceived of society as an organism. In reality and developed the concept of social pathology. Schüffle in *Structure and Function* (1874-1878) conceived of society as producing a supermind which affected the control of its parts in the same way that the brain controls the human body. This organic theory was taken quite seriously, so that society was conceived of as a real organism, which is actually the title of a larger work of Lilienfeld (*Gesellschaft als Reeler Organismus*).

The later European sociologists who were contemporaneous with the rise of sociology in the United States were: De Greef, who stressed classification as a method of science (*Introduction à la Sociologie*, 1886); Durkheim (*On The*

*Division of Social Work*, 1893) who analyzed the nature of sociology of organization in terms of division of work and specialization, and who also made much of classification as a method of science; Tarde (*Social Logic*, 1894), who introduced the method of comparison and laid the foundations for what today is commonly called social psychology; Gumplowitz (*The Race Conflict*, 1883), who introduced a conflict theory in sociology, and Ratzelhofet, who stressed in his contributions the group-making factors.

#### SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES—EXPERIMENTAL ATTITUDE

IN THE United States sociology might be characterized as the experimental attitude. It took its rise in the early practical efforts in charities and corrections, in teaching what had previously been developed as sociology by European contributors and in the contributions of Lester F. Ward, who has come to be ranked with Comte and Spencer in the history of sociology.

Sumner at Yale, 1876, Columbia College, School of Political Science, 1880; Sanborn at Cornell, 1884; and approximately at the same time in Johns Hopkins, these represent the first efforts at teaching social science—politics, history, economics, primitive culture, and sociology.

#### DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY

LESTER F. WARD (1841-1913) published his *Dynamic Sociology* in 1883. This was a systematic treatise, following the general philosophical lead of Spencer and Comte, which attempted to bring the cosmos under one roof of analysis and classification. Ward protested strongly against the dry bones of Spencer's social philosophy. He argued that the social forces are psychic, that knowledge is essential to enlightened opinion and that knowledge can be universalized by education so that education becomes the proximate means of social progress. By studying human society men can secure such knowledge that will enable him to set up his own goals and organize his efforts to achieve them. He argued that Spencer's *laissez-faire* attitude should be substituted by one



of *savoir-faire*. He was essentially a meliorist and believed in the possibility of man's controlling his own destiny through scientific study of himself.

The publication of this work was a significant impetus to the making of contributions to sociology in the United States. There followed upon the early efforts already noted, the establishment of departments of sociology or of particular courses in sociology. Blackmur at the University of Kansas in 1889; Giddings at Bryn Mawr, 1890; Small at Colby College, 1890; all started teaching definite courses labeled "Sociology." Later in 1892 at the University of Chicago, Small organized the "Social Science Group," where he and Henderson and Thomas instituted the work which has since developed into the well-known Sociology Department of that University.

Unfortunately from 1892-1901 most of the sociological thinking was concerned about wrangling over sociological methods and developing defenses against the criticisms of sociology launched by the social scientists. This period saw the establishment of various social science associations and particularly the establishment of the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1895.

From 1901 on, the writers increasingly focused their attention upon definition of problems and the development of methods of analysis. The interest has shifted from broad generalizations and the discovery of so-called laws and pass-key explanation of human behavior to specific objective researches into pluralistic causation. This trend Small called "the drive toward objectivity."

In 1905 the American Sociological Society was organized with Lester F. Ward as the first president. It began with as many as 113 members.

Such, in brief, is an account of the main line of thinking which is a continuous development from early Hebraic influences down to present-day sociology in the United States. This we shall now examine.

**SOCIOLOGY IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

THERE are two views commonly held which fundamentally affect one's conception of the relation of sociology to the "social sciences," such as history, economics, jurisprudence, political science, education, civics, and ethics.

**IS SOCIOLOGY A "MOTHER" SCIENCE?**

THE first view held by some is that sociology is a "mother" science which covers in a general manner the aspects that are dealt with particularly by the special social sciences. This relationship between sociology and other social sciences is analogous to the relationship between biology and its special sub-sciences of botany or zoology. This view grows out of the notion that sociology is a body of knowledge or a collection of principles or generalizations which are derived by analyzing out the common denominator among all the special social sciences. For example, there are educational groups, political groups, economic groups. The characteristics of these different types of groups studied in their particular functions by the social sciences of education, political science, and economics would reveal certain common characteristics, which can be formulated into a general statement about groups of all sorts. Such a generalization might be, other things being equal, the more varied the functions, the more complicated the type of group organization. We should expect this to be true then in the case of educational groups, political groups, or economic groups.

As a result ■ this view sociology has served a unifying function among social sciences by insisting that (1) human experience is an organic whole and can best be studied as a unity; (2) social sciences are not many, but one, and (3) social sciences are mutually dependent, having nothing to gain and much to lose by exclusiveness.

Thus sociology utilizes the findings of the special social sciences as data for deriving generalizations. Conversely the special social sciences utilize the principles of sociology for a better understanding of the particular phenomena they investigate.

## OR IS SOCIOLOGY ONE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES?

THE SECOND point of view is that sociology is merely one of the several social sciences holding equal rank with economics, law, political science, history, and the like. This view is dependent upon the conception that sociology is a body of technics for the analysis and interpretation of human behavior. As such, it has influenced the other social sciences as a corrective agent by utilizing their data for re-analysis and re-interpretation.

## SOCIOLOGY INFLUENCES OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Thus economics has profited by applying sociological concepts to the analysis of values, wages, industrial conflicts, and the like, and by abandoning abstract theory for concrete analysis, as in the works of Wesley Mischel and the younger school of economists.

Political science has been influenced slightly by sociology, particularly with reference to the analysis of collective behavior and its control through public opinion, the investigation of political attitudes and of political movements and parties as reflecting social movements and cultural changes.

Law is today under severe criticism as checked by the findings of sociology in the methods of determining the causations of human behavior as in the work of Roscoe Pound of Harvard and Ernst Freund of Chicago. These authorities analyze law as related to problems of social control and as a preventive measure for human betterment. This newer tendency to make the legal profession responsible for a larger service to the community is reflected in the scientific legislation which is based on the gathering of social facts as in the case of the Wisconsin State Legislative Bureau and also by the establishment of different types of courts to deal differentially with human maladjustments defined by law, such as children's courts, family courts, and the like. It is also reflected in the more recent efforts to revise criminal law for the differential treatment of criminals.

Religion in the United States has undergone a change of heart under the plea of Rauschenbach, Feabody, Shailer

Mathews, George Coe, and Harry Ward, that Christianity be applied practically to the social problems. In fact this social application of Christianity, together with the newer interpretations of the Bible derived from textual and historical criticism, is the foundation of religious modernism. The fundamentalists resist both the methods and conclusions of this general movement to vitalize religion in everyday life, and still regard the function of religion as that of salvation from this world for eternity.

History too has been influenced by sociology, in that sociological criticism of history has saved it from such particularistic explanations of historical events that events can be explained by either economic facts or racial facts, or by geographical facts alone. The newer historical analysis takes account of events as conditioned by complexes of factors, as illustrated in the works of Greene, *Short History of England*, James Harvey Robinson, and more recently Walter Lippmann. Sociology has also contributed to the improvement of history in disclosing the fact that much of it is more propaganda than history.

Education has been sufficiently affected by sociology to warrant the establishment of an applied science of educational sociology—reflected in the demand for reorganization of the curriculum, for improving methods of teaching, for taking account of the group factor in learning, and by stressing the need of more careful diagnosis of pupil maladjustment. This influence will be analyzed in more detail under the special discussion of educational sociology.

Rural sociology has been directly dependent upon general sociology for its clues and suggestions for differential treatment of facts that would lead to the improvement of country life as distinguished from city life. The opposite is true for urban sociology.

Social psychology has emerged as a result of the two approaches to human experience known as psychology and sociology. But there is a real question as to whether the issues in methodology have not been confused rather than clarified by a "social psychology." A sociologist who is competent is entirely free to study psychological data; a psycholo-

just who is capable is equally free to study sociological data, but each should keep quite distinct the types of data and his adapted methods in the interest of clarifying his results. Probably strictly speaking, there is no "social psychology." If psychology is defined as the study of the neuro-muscular mechanisms and their functions, then it is a branch of physiology, which is a sub-science of biology. Its unit is then the reaction mechanism and it properly studies the individual as abstracted from his social environment. Sociology picks up where psychology leaves off and studies the mutual influencings of people and the resultant products of these mutual influencings in personality, in group and societal life, and in organizations. In view of this definition there would be no "social psychology" but only psychology and sociology. Many important problems of the physiological bases of behavior might be more thoroughly studied if psychology were to define thus clearly its data and methods. But as it is now, with erroneous concepts concerning motivations of human behavior growing out of an assumption that an "individual" in actual behavior situations acts from instincts, the problems are confused. Either psychologists are running short of problems of research or else they cannot define their field, if we are to judge by their investigations of societal phenomena.

Medical practice has profited by taking over the findings and technique of pure and applied sociology in diagnosing patients in relation to their social worlds, by adding to medical treatment follow-up social case work, and in the theory and methods of organizing effort for sanitation and disease prevention. Such developments are reflected in medical social work both in connection with private practice and hospital organization, as well as in public health service.

Social work has more recently been influenced by sociological theory of personality behavior and maladjustment, and has thus tended to check its practical results with the findings of sociology. The latter has been influential in developing the newer methods in charities, corrections, and community organizations.

There is also evidence that literature and drama have been influenced by sociology. In literature the work of

Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Ludwig Lewisohn, and in drama the work of Bernard Shaw and Eugene O'Neill all reflect such influences.

The foregoing expression of the influences of sociology is not meant to imply "a one way street," for the findings in these special social sciences have in their turn contributed in many different ways to the development and present status of sociology in the United States.

#### THE PRESENT STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

THERE is much evidence that sociology is well established in the United States. It is participating on every hand in research into social realities. The New School for Social Research, the National Social Science Research Council, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, the Milbank Fund in its experiment in the control of health in Cattaraugus County, N. Y., in Syracuse, and in the Bellevue-Yorkville District of New York City, the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, and the Juvenile Research Bureau of Chicago are all utilizing directly and indirectly sociological findings and methods. From time to time sociology is represented in bureaus of municipal research, in miscellaneous agencies conducting research into special areas of human experience or into social problems; also in industrial research agencies, colleges and universities, and in studies in professional and vocational schools, in rural life studies under the Purnell Act, rural extension, and many more.

In educational research agencies sociology has not been utilized to any significant extent for the educational bureaus of research are generally publicity agencies and the members of these research staffs are trained mostly in psychology and statistics but rarely in sociology.

#### SOCIOLOGY IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

SOCIOLOGICAL instruction is now given in most colleges, universities, and professional schools of graduate level—law, divinity, education, commerce, and social work, though in the latter not so much nor so generally as it should be. Most

colleges present courses of an introductory type, at least, and many have well-organized departments that offer advanced courses to undergraduates. Professional schools not of graduate rank, such as schools of nursing, agricultural schools, and normal schools, are beginning to teach sociology or so-called sociology. The development of sociological instruction in normal schools has gone forward much more rapidly than in schools of nursing. Unfortunately much of the sociological instruction in small schools is carried on by untrained persons, and in large schools by specialists trained for research rather than for teaching.

Sociological instruction has also been put into high schools as special courses in sociology but the work is mainly a study of social problems. According to the last survey in January, 1922, at least 1600 high schools taught sociology as such to approximately 40,000 pupils. North Dakota led with 18% of the total enrollment registered in sociology. A new survey is needed, for some evidence is available to indicate retrenchment in high school offerings in sociology. Sociology may now be offered for college entrance under the College Entrance Board of Examinations.

Sometimes sociology is combined with materials in social studies organized around major projects as in the work of H. O. Rugg while in Lincoln School, New York City. Frequently too the civics courses contain sociological contributions, particularly when civics is defined as "elements of community welfare." Some schools, instead of offering sociology or civics, provide courses in general social science as illustrated by M. F. Fatchild, *Elements of Social Science*. Some courses in "current events" deal with social problems and methods of their solution.

Sociology has in certain instances entered grade schools. The survey of 1922 disclosed that 79 schools were teaching sociology in the ninth and tenth grades. It has been introduced in the grade schools as parallel English readings on sociological materials, dealing with primitive peoples in story fashion as Katharine Dopp's *Anthropological Readers for First Grades of the Elementary School*. Some sociology has also been introduced as parallel readings in geography

and history, in habit formation to inculcate customs, and in studies of child relationships and child clinics in the so-called socialized classes.

#### **SOCIOLOGICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS**

THERE IS an American Sociological Society (A.S.S.) with a membership of 1500 persons. This organization meets annually and prints a volume of *Proceedings and Publications* (1907- ). It issues as its official organ the *American Journal of Sociology* (A.J.S.) (1896- ). The annual meetings have divisions and sections on rural sociology, professional social work, community, the family, educational sociology, sociology of religion, sociological research, sociology and psychiatry, and the teaching of sociology.

#### **ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS**

THE NATIONAL Conference of Social Work (1879- ) meets annually in various parts of the country and publishes *Proceedings* (1879- ) (*Proc. N.C.S.W.*). It was formerly the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (N.C.C.C.). Professional social workers have organized the American Association for Social Workers. Their organ is *The Compass*, 190 East 22nd Street, New York City. Other organizations closely allied with the foregoing are: The American Country Life Association with its annual *Proceedings* (A.C.L.A.) (1919- ). The American Academy of Political and Social Science which publishes the *Annals* (1890- ), with each volume organized around a main topic of study; the American Economics Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation which meet in conjunction with the American Sociological Society; the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology which met in conjunction with the American Sociological Society in December and with the Department of Superintendents of the N.E.A. in February.\* (It has published three volumes of *Proceedings: Bibliographies on Educational Sociology, Objectives in Education, and Economics and Education.*) The National Com-

\* In 1921 this society passed out of existence as an independent organization.



munity Center Association meets twice a year with the Sociological Society and the National Conference of Social Work. (Its former organ, *The Community Center*, has recently been merged with the *Journal of Social Forces*.)

Other journals besides the *American Journal of Sociology* are the *Journal of Applied Sociology* (1916- ), which has since changed its name to the *Journal of Sociology and Social Research*, the *Journal of Social Forces* (1922- ), and the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (1905- ). Besides these there are journals dealing with the special aspects of sociology: the *Survey*, the *Family*, the *Journal of Criminology*, *Journal of Juvenile Delinquency*, and the like.

#### SOCIOLOGY IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

IN ENGLAND there is the Sociological Society which publishes the *Sociological Review* (1908- ). The main scientific impulse has been in regional sociology. Otherwise it has been mostly philosophical. Formal instruction in sociology in institutions of learning has not developed very far.

In France, l'Institut International de Sociologie and la Société de Sociologie de Paris jointly publish the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (1899- ). There are two other journals of this kind published in Paris and Brussels. The French sociologists devote much attention to general theory and to the sociological aspects of French imperialistic politics.

In Italy, there is the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* (1897- ), and in Germany, there are three journals, chief of which is the *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* (1898- ).

Russian sociology as such has not enjoyed formal instruction in universities, is not organized, and has no separate publication; but various sociologists have produced a large body of literature on the subject. (See Hocker, J. F., *Russian Sociology*. Columbia University Studies in Political Science, Whole Number 161.)

In the Orient, India has a society publishing the *Indian Sociological Review* (1923- ).

In China a small but increasing number of students returned from the United States, England, and Japan are pub-

lishing a *Chinese Journal of Sociology* (1921- ). Mission colleges of highest rank and the government institutions of higher learning have formally organized teaching of sociology as such.

Japanese universities have departments of sociology; there is a Japan Sociological Society with *Proceedings*.

### READINGS

Lundberg, Anderson, Bean and others, *Trends in American Sociology*, Ch. 1 (The History and Prospects of Sociology in the United States by Bernard, J.), Ch. 3 (Trends in American Sociological Theory by Bean, J.).

Dawson and Getzys, *Introduction to Sociology*, Part V (Sociology — Movement and Methods).

Barnes and others, *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, Ch. 6 (Sociology by Hankins, F. H.) A brief history from the Greeks through Lester F. Ward. Ch. 4 (Social Psychology by Young, K.). Discusses the "social mind," "instincts," "attitudes," and "personality."

Odum, H. W., *American Masters of Social Science*, Hmit.  
Lichtenberger, J. P., *Development of Social Theory*, New York, Century 1928.

Bogardus, E. S., *A History of Social Thought*, Los Angeles 1928.

Bernard, L. L., *The History of Sociology in America*, Holt.

Kulp, D. H., *Outlines*, Ch. 32 (Sociology: Origin and Development), Ch. 33 (Sociology: Its Influence and Present Status).

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What criticism would you offer of the author's use of the phrase descriptive of the various trends of presociology thinking on societies and their problems ("the legal attitude")?
2. What evidences of Utopian thinking do you find in modern sociology? In modern educational theory?
3. What does Small mean by his phrase, "the drive toward objectivity"? Does this trend in sociology correlate with a similar trend in education during the same period, 1900-1930?
4. Does the author claim too much or too little concerning the influence of sociology upon other social sciences? Specify.
5. How would you justify to a superintendent or principal the inclusion of sociology in a high school, junior college, normal school, or teachers' college?

### EXERCISE

List the gains to you as a student of education from this study of the sociology of education.

## CHAPTER XXV

### *HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*

**E**DUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has had three main sources: (a) the analyses of education in communities by sociologists and anthropologists; (b) the searchings for solutions to educational problems by educators; (c) the applications of sociological findings to education by educational sociologists.

It was quite natural that as sociology has broken up into divisions through specialization, there should arise an "educational" sociology in much the same way as sociology has differentiated rural sociology, cultural sociology, criminal sociology, family sociology. Special sociologies stress the sociology of particular parts of community life.

#### *SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION*

Thus sociology has analyzed educational institutions, agencies, processes, and organizations, together with the political, the military, the religious, the economic, and the like, in find out what is common to them all. More recently sociology has investigated educational phenomena experimentally in order to secure readily controlled conditions. The aim in these efforts has been to contribute to "pure" or general sociology but incidentally they have thrown light upon the origin, development, and nature of education as a social process (Ross, Cooley, Smith, Thomas, Sumner, Keller). These efforts have defined the rôle of organized education in relation to societal control (Ross, Ward, Todd). They have produced data of value in the understanding of pupil personalities and of maladjustments (Thomas, Shaw, Healy,

Chapin). These observations by sociologists on the various aspects of education constitute a consent for "educational" sociology, which has been a by-product of the development of general sociology.

Aside from the contributions to education which are contained in the general sociological literature, and besides the emphases which the proto-sociology thinkers placed upon the social phases of education (Helvetius, Rousseau, Condorcet), the work of three sociologists stands out as especially significant — that of Spencer, Ward, and Small.

After Spencer had published his *Social Statics* and just about the time he had projected *Synthetic Philosophy*, of which his *Sociology* formed the central part, he issued in 1881 his well-known essay on *Education*, in which he attempted to answer a question that troubles educators today more than ever, "What education is of most worth?"

Lester F. Ward was thoroughly familiar not only with Spencer and Comte but also with the earlier works of the French precursors of sociology mentioned above. He coupled their suggestions as to the nature and importance of education and progress with his revolt against the social statics of Spencer and wrote his *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), which moved with logical certainty toward the final chapter on "Education as the Proximate Means of Progress."

In 1897, there appeared in a series of *Teachers' Manuals* an article by A. W. Small on "The Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy" (Note this wording. Today we should write: "The demands of pedagogy upon sociology.")

This was a paper read at the Buffalo meeting of the National Education Association in 1896. In it Small argued against "education as training" by emphasizing that (a) the learning of separate subjects is useless because unreal; (b) the education of action and information can be kept real if viewed as organic parts of one reality — human experience; (c) the object of education is adaptation to social conditions; (d) the center of education is not the subject, but the student; (e) the child be aided to learn his world at the least expense; and (f) "Sociology demands of educators, finally, that they shall not rate themselves as leaders of children but

as makers of society. Sociology knows no means for the amelioration or reform of society more radical [fundamental] than those of which teachers hold the leverage. The teacher who realizes his social function will not be satisfied with passing children to the next grade. He will read his success only in the record of men and women who go from the school eager to explore wider and deeper these social relations, and zealous to do their part in making a better future. We are dupes of faulty analysis if we imagine that schools can do much to promote social progress until they are motivated by this insight and this temper." \*

A year earlier, 1893, Arnold Tompkins in an article on "Sociology and Pedagogy" contended that "Pedagogy must consider the school as an institution based on the foregoing virtues, and which, properly managed, cultivates the same as private virtues in the individual. To all of which sociology gives the universal ground and explanation" †

The foregoing illustrates various efforts of early sociologists in the direction of understanding and manipulating education for social control.

#### EDUCATORS' USE OF SOCIOLOGY

Toward the end of the nineteenth century educators began to evidence a use of emergent sociology. In 1893, Dr. W. T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education, wrote:

But no philosophy of education is fundamental until it is based on sociology — not on physiology, nor even on psychology, but on sociology ‡

Three years later, 1896, at the same time and on the same occasion as the address by Small, before the National Education Association, he said:

It has been a motto of my theory of education for a great many years, that education is founded on sociology.§

This was thirteen years after Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* and thirty-five years after Spencer's *Education*.

\* *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II, pp. 342-343.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 222-223.

‡ *Educational Science*, Vol. VI, p. 82.

§ *Address and Proceedings* 1896, p. 196.

The same year that Small as a sociologist and Harris as an educator were stressing the contributions of sociology to education, John Dewey established his experimental University Elementary School in Chicago. He too had an article, "My Pedagogic Creed," which appeared with Small's in *Teachers' Manuals* (1897). In 1899 his lectures to the friends and patrons of this school were published as *The School and Society*, in which he emphasized the social aspects of teaching and learning and the need of regarding the school as a social institution. During that year S. T. Dutton, superintendent in Brookline, Massachusetts, published his *Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home*. Other educators followed with similar contributions: C. A. Scott, *Social Education* (1908); O'Shea, *Social Development and Education* (1909); King, *Social Aspects of Education* (1911); and Betts, *Social Principles of Education* (1912).

#### INTRODUCTION INTO TEACHER TRAINING

It is significant too that as early as in 1895 the normal schools of Minnesota made "social science" a required study. The same year that Small, Dewey, and Harris were stressing sociology at the National Education Association, saw a first course in sociology offered at Winona Normal School and in the one at Milwaukee. The offering was made in 1902 in all normal schools in Wisconsin, and about the same time to teachers in training in Illinois. By 1910, forty normal schools included sociology in their curricula. Subsequently (1917), through joint efforts of members of the American Sociological Society, of the National Education Association, and the Bureau of Education, a study was reported (1920, *A. J. S.*) that revealed sociology in approximately one hundred normal schools.

Clow reported the number of normal schools offering sociology as follows:

Year	Number of Schools
1896	2
1904	5
1909	26
1910	40

1823	.. . . .	30
1835	.. . . .	78
1847	.. . . .	100*
1881	.. . . .	(estimated) 200-250

For educational sociology Clow reports:

Year	Number of Schools
1902 (sociology of education)	11
1906	11
1917	16
1926	194†
1931	200-300‡

There are no recent accurate and complete statistics on the extent of the teaching of educational sociology.

The movement spread about the same time 11 institutions of higher learning in connection with their training of teachers, for in 1902, F. L. Tolman reported (*A. J. S.* Vols VII and VIII) such offerings in Leland Stanford, Chicago, Clark, Michigan, New York, and Syracuse. By 1914, according to a study made by Gillette—who first used the term "educational sociology"—seventeen colleges and universities made sociology a requirement for teacher preparation while others urged it or made it elective. As many as sixteen institutions had offerings called "educational sociology." §

The materials used in courses of sociology and in "educational sociology" were extremely varied. Generally they represented study of social questions of which Ellwood's then widely used *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* is a good illustration. The order of frequency of problems was: the family; poverty; crime and immigration; church, race, social settlements; socialism, recreation, and population problems. ¶ Sociological theory was represented in texts by Ross, Cooley, Giddings, and Blackmar; and historical materials were also

\* *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIII, 1908.

† Lec. H, *State of Educational Sociology*, Monograph of New York University Press Bookstore 1927, p. 55. While the study is quite incomplete it can be taken seriously as a sampling of institutions.

‡ Estimated from membership of National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology.

§ Indebtedness is acknowledged to F. H. Clow, "The Rise of Educational Sociology," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. II, pp. 329-337.

¶ Clow, F. H., *A. J. S.*, Vol. XXV, March 1920, p. 257.

offered though to a much less extent than were the "problems."

Thus were educators searching into sociology for clues for a better understanding of educational processes and for improvements chiefly of methods. Many were sufficiently impressed to include it in training programs.

#### THE WORKS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGISTS

It is clear that, though courses in sociology and even a few called "educational sociology" were offered to students of education, the resultant outcome did not aid in defining the content of the new subject. This has been brought about somewhat more definitely by the developing literature of educational sociology. Following the beginning made by E. A. Kirkpatrick in *Fundamentals of Sociology* (1916) — a discussion of personal and social needs which school educations should strive to meet — there follows a steady output in textbooks: W. R. Smith, *An Introduction to Educational Sociology* (1917); C. J. Robbins, *The School as a Social Institution* (1918); W. E. Chancetlor, *Educational Sociology* (1919); F. R. Clow, *Principles of Sociology With Educational Applications* (1920); and the next year J. T. Williams' articles on *Education in Recent Sociology* combined in a pamphlet, of which Clow remarks: "Only a price mark and a place in the catalogues of a prominent publishing house are lacking to make this pamphlet the starting point of every serious work in the sociological phase of education." \* It sets forth the educational contributions of Ward, Cooley, Todd, Ellwood, Row, and Hayes.

David Snodden, early the most prolific writer in this field, published in 1921 his *Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education*, and in 1922 published his *Educational Sociology: A Digest and Syllabus* (1917) in expanded form as *Educational Sociology, revised* in 1924 as *Sociology for Teachers and Educational Applications of Sociology*. In 1924 C. C. Peters first published his *Foundations of Educational Sociology*.

Of these writers who laid the foundations in a literature

\* *Journal of Social Forces*, II, 256.



of educational sociology it is interesting to note the character of their contributions. Glue offers sociology with illustrations from educational situations; Smith discusses educational activities and problems from a general sociological point of view; Snedden directs his entire attention to sociological aspects of policy making—objectives, curriculum, and contents, using logical analyses of societal data and sociological insights; Peters stresses curricula and contents and the need of objective research into societal data and presents sample investigations.\*

Later writers are E. R. Groves, *Social Problems and Education* (1925)—a discussion of social problems such as delinquency, crime, defects, and the like, with educational implications; Alvin Good, *Sociology and Education* (1926)—devoted mainly to the sociology of groups with general applications to schools; Ross L. Finney, *Sociological Philosophy of Education* (1928)—a correct title that covers a lively critique of current philosophical theories and concepts of education; J. H. Hart, *A Social Interpretation of Education* (1929)—original and illuminating; and in 1930, P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Problems in Educational Sociology*—a study syllabus of philosophical material on the rôle of schools in community and national life.

#### THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

AT THE meeting of the National Education Association Department of Superintendents in Cleveland in 1929, the educational sociologists organized a National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology and held meetings with the American Sociological Society in December and with the Department of Superintendents in February. These meetings have provoked discussion and focused attention but more concretely have resulted in the adoption of a plan of research and publication under a central committee.

The present writer proposed in 1926 that, in order to get out of the confusion, efforts be integrated around the major

\* *The Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology*, T. C. Bureau of Publications, New York, 1929. "Objectives in Education" furnishes examples of these methods, adding a philosophical contribution by F. W. L. Cox.

problems to be found in an activity analysis of public education in the United States:

- I. Determine Educational Objectives
- II. Organize Curricula
- III. Administer School Systems
- IV. Supervise Teaching
- V. Teach Pupils
- VI. Learning by Pupils
- VII. Guide and Control Pupil Behavior (Discipline)
- VIII. Lead Extra-Curricular Activities
- IX. Relate School to Community

Accordingly committees were appointed and some results secured. The First Yearbook was on *Bibliographies on Educational Sociology*\* which assembled the materials around the main concepts in the list given above. The Second Yearbook was on *Objectives of Education*† and for lack of the committee report that was planned, a Third Yearbook was issued in 1923 on *Economics and Education*,‡ edited by H. F. Clark and B. R. Andrews.

Meanwhile in 1928 under the editorship of E. G. Payne, the *Journal of Educational Sociology* was founded. In view of this development and because of conditions created thereby, those who originally established the society increasingly favored a very limited program. Action was taken to make this Journal the organ of the Society and to be content with that publication because of the difficulty of producing yearbook material.

In 1931 the Society ended its independent existence in spite of many protests by younger recruits in the field by merging officially with the American Association of College Teachers of Education that meets with the Department of Superintendents and with the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society, which has always enjoyed the larger and more enthusiastic attendance. The epitaph should read: "A victim of infanticide." The sociologists have shown more "interest," proportionate to their

\* A. G. Sahr, 1224 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City 1926.

† F. C. Brown, *Publications* 1929.

‡ *Ibid.* 1931.

numbers, in education than educators have indicated in sociology. Students who desire may direct their attention to the two organizations named and participate therein. But it is not unlikely that an independent organization will again arise as the subject develops the right to an independent existence in training school curricula. Educators will turn to educational sociology not because of claims but because it contains materials and methods too important to be overlooked. To that end the development of research will contribute most; but first there must be, by workers in this field, a mastery of available sociology — knowledge and technique which can be applied to educational problems.

#### AIMS AND CONTENT

THE STRUGGLE to establish consensus on aims and contents of educational sociology is well illustrated in the controversy in *School and Society* in 1924. The lack of agreement among educational sociologists was deplored by Champlin who advocated that educational sociology concentrate on "socialization of pupils" and "professionalization of teachers" but offered no suggestion as to meanings or methods.\*

Pinney claimed that educational sociology should be determined not by schoolmasters but by sociologists. The former are too narrow; are limited to administration of practical problems. He approved of Ellwood's dictum that "the social process is a product of the learning process." To reveal this to educators is the prime task of educational sociology. "The learning process is a social process," therefore "the social process of the future is pre-determined by what is put into the learning process today." "So the school is the steering gear of society and the chief responsibility for solving the problems of our age lies with the teachers." Objectives are to be found outside, not inside, the school.†

Peters regarded the disagreement as healthy. He rejected Champlin's proposal as too limited and suggested interpretation of civilization in terms of "controls" — education; study of abilities needed by society; study of social agencies that educate and division of labor between them and the

\* Vol. XIX, pp. 462 ff.

† *Ibid.* Vol. XIX, pp. 522 ff.

school; study of influence of social contacts upon conduct to control conduct.\*

R. A. Kent assailed Finney for his distinction between schoolmasters and sociologists and advocated for Educational Sociology: formulation of objectives of all educational agencies, and a tentative distribution of those objectives among the agencies—home, church, school, etc.†

Can you resolve the conflict between Finney and Kent?

C. B. Moore in 1924 made a study of courses in educational sociology to discover their aims, contents, and methods. He received more than fifty per cent replies. The aims ranged from "the educator's social program" (W. W. Holmes, Harvard) to a "hierarchy of aims" (D. Snodden, Columbia). When synthesized, these aims were stressed: to show the rôle of schools in community life and social change, to reveal the social nature of learning, and to apply sociology to education. The contents ran up to sixty-eight different items with a minimum list of twenty-one items as follows:‡

1. The Nature and Purpose of Educational Sociology
2. The Selection and Evaluation of Objectives
3. Educational Needs in Relation to Social Change
4. The Family as a Social and Educational Institution
5. Education a Factor in Social Control
6. The Socialization of the Curriculum
7. Education in Relation to Social Forces
8. The State and Education
9. Socialization. Its Origin and Development
10. The Innate Social Nature of Man
11. Democracy and the Modern School
12. Education as an Agency of Progress
13. Educational and Social Significance of Heredity
14. Education in Primary and Intermediate Groups
15. The Individual and the Social Group
16. The Socialization of Discipline
17. Social and Educational Aspects of the Evolution of Man
18. Moral Education
19. Education for Leisure
20. The Relation of the School to Other Social Institutions
21. Sociological Foundations of Culture

(This arrangement indicates the order of preference, and is not arranged in the order or sequence for a course of instruction.) ||

\* *School & Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 52 ff.

‡ *Education*, Vol. 45, pp. 155-170.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 50.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 156.

How can you explain the absence of items on methods of investigation?

An investigation into the status of educational sociology (1927) by Harvey Lee revealed that the aims were as follows:

1. To study social problems
2. To study the school and society
3. To inculcate in prospective teachers a scientific (sociological) attitude toward social pedagogical problems
4. To help solve teaching problems
5. To determine the educational process
6. To insure social efficiency (efficient living)
7. To study social evolution
8. To determine the objectives of education
9. To ascertain the social determinants of the curriculum
10. To examine education in a democracy
11. To study the social aspect of the school
12. To examine the relationship of education and society
13. To use education as social control
14. To provide cultural training.\*

Which of these are duplicates? Which are doubtful? Are these aims equally applicable to minors and to majors in educational sociology?

■ general the contents of the courses were a veritable hodge-podge, duplicating materials found elsewhere, and stressing the insights of various brands of social philosophy. This was probably due to the fact that many instructors were experienced in education rather than in sociology and were unable to pick their way through the tangle of earlier sociology. It was found that students who had had work in educational sociology were more favorable to it than were the faculties.

But these are conditions that usually accompany the introduction of a new subject into established curricula, especially when the new subject is itself not well developed. In this connection compare the resistance of the classics and fine arts of universities to the introduction of natural sciences and the professional courses.

In 1929 a study was made by a Committee on Educational Sociology into the status of this subject in approved teacher

\* Lee, H., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

training institutions of Ohio. About half of them offered courses to junior and senior students, mostly as electives, consisting of applications of sociological reasoning and principles to such educational problems as school organization, educational influences of non-school educational agencies, pupil behavior, curriculum objectives, curriculum contents, classroom control, and community relations, and stressing "appreciation" not "productive" objectives, with instructors trained primarily in education or psychology. The State Department of Education in Ohio was found to be "committed to the policy of accepting a three-semester-hour course in educational sociology as a professional elective in its approved training program."<sup>\*</sup>

This case presents what is probably a fair picture of conditions in many other states, with two exceptions: (a) that educational sociology has not penetrated to this extent in the far South, and (b) that state departments are generally not so advanced in policy as in Ohio. It shows that the composite content is becoming practical and generally comprehensive.

How do you account for these exceptions?

E. G. Payne has formulated as the official definition of the field for New York University:

Educational sociology seeks to discover the principles and indicates the practices essential to educational procedure in its social implications. The newer science, moreover, starts with a consideration of social behavior and the principles of its control with reference to specific ends or purposes as consciously controlled through the special institution, the school. Educational sociology is, however, limit itself exclusively to the study of the school as an educational agency, since in any society much of the important work of education does always take place outside of the school in social institutions not designed primarily for educational purposes, but which nevertheless perform an important educational function. Educational sociology seeks, therefore, to explain the social forms, social groups, and the social processes, that is, the special relationships in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experiences or behavior in their relation to the school as a co-ordinating agency.

\* Jodanis, H. J., "Status of Educational Sociology," *Ohio State Survey Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 27-31.

The educational sociologist is therefore interested in the principles underlying and in research into a special set of problems of group behavior which cluster about the school, in the way the child acquires and organizes his social experiences, or in what way the groups of which the child is a member patterns his attitudes and personality; in the analysis of the behavior situations, apart from the school, in the analysis of the efforts of the school, in the light of influence of the outside of school behavior patterns, to adjust the child to the social situation, in which he lives, and in the surveys for purposes of measuring the effectiveness of the school in so adjusting the child through modifications of his behavior.

Since the educational sociologist conceives the school as a co-ordinating agency in the development of controls of behavior he does not confine the limits of his science to the determination of the objectives of education, but includes a consideration of subject matter and activities of the school, the method of instruction, the school and classroom organization, and the character of measurement designed to determine the results of the conscious or planned educational processes taking place within the school. In a word, since any phase of educational procedure in operation will have social outcomes, the nature of that procedure must conform to sociological principles, and therefore becomes subject matter appropriate to educational sociology.\*

Which statements of contents of educational sociology seem more satisfactory — by W. R. Smith, C. C. Peters, Alvin Good, E. G. Payne?

By reference to the general activity analysis on pages 309-310, it is readily seen that each of these ranges of activities can be broken up into long lists of detailed practices from which educational problems can be formulated merely by raising the questions concerning them: How? Why? When? Where? It is also readily seen that all of these ranges of activities are capable of sociological analysis because they are social processes involving social situations, social worlds, communities, neighborhoods, groups, institutions, organizations, agencies, persons, attitudes and values, social interactions, relations, changes and breakdowns — in short, structures, processes and persons. It is the business of educational sociology, then, to attack with educators, all along the front of these ranges of activities. None of these ranges is a special province of psychology, or biology, or sociology or any other special social science. It is for educational sociology to marshal the technique of sociology when available, or to invent

\* Quoted by Lee, Harvey. "Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges, Colleges, and Universities" 1927, pp. 57 ff.

them when not, alongside of the other sciences in an allied attack on the great tasks in education as above listed.

The definition of problems for research in educational sociology is least troublesome, however, particularly when the above practical approach is followed. But what gives most concern is the fact that the young science carries a double duty—not only that of applying the methods of sociology but, because that science is still so young, of devising techniques needed by its special programs. For example, educational sociology needs a set of criteria for evaluating societal practices for their worth (a) to persons, (b) to groups and (c) to communities. But one looks in vain to sociologists for any such measuring sticks of societal adequacies. Theories, yes; but concrete norms, few!

[Farr contends that sociology cannot be expected to provide norms. Why, then, sociology at all?] (See chapter references.)

Educational sociology has at hand certain methods—case analysis, community survey, ecological analysis, statistics and tests, confessional documents, historical method, the monographic method, culture analysis, but they have to be adapted, utilized extensively, and new ones devised. The problem of methodology is the most pressing one at present and is most far-reaching in its significance.\*

#### SAMPLE PROBLEMS IN RURAL EDUCATION

THE DEVELOPMENT of educational sociology through close co-operation between educators and sociologists can be effected when the former will tell the latter what to investigate and the latter will tell the former how to investigate. Sociologists can well ■ to educators for definitions of practical and urgent problems; educators can well ask sociologists ■ apply their techniques of experimental and other types of investigation ■ the problems defined.

Though the following applies to rural education, it is suggestive for urban as well, and indicates some next steps for the student of educational sociology.

To this end let rural educators and rural sociological researchers get into conference and co-operate in the following ways.

\* Kulp, D. H. Ch. VII, "Educational Sociology" in Landberg, Anderson, Sax and others, *Teacher's American Sociology*, pp. 320 ff.



First, let rural educators define as concretely as possible just what their problems are and indicate those that press for more immediate solution.

Second, let rural sociologists

(a) mobilize their techniques of research and their findings thus far with reference to these problems. (By co-operative consideration both educators and sociologists can work out practical applications and arrive at improvements in rural school practices.)

(b) where rural sociology is not now competent, let rural sociologists select definite rural educational problems, develop the necessary technique of investigation, and discover fruitful findings.

Rural schools are especially rich fields for sociological research. They serve, in their outputs for good or ill, all other institutions in a community. Thus the ramification of influences due to school improvement is unlimited. A rural school can be made a point of attack in the strategy of rural village welfare.

Again, conditions for experimental research are peculiarly favorable. Human beings are under certain natural constraints — the educational culture, time is available for observation, definite controls can be established without greatly violating familiar experiences; and money is available for practical use of findings.

In the third place, teachers, supervisors, and superintendents are increasingly eager to effect substantial and valid changes and to seek all the aid that they can find. If they have gone somewhat astray under the leadership of educational psychology they can hardly be blamed; for educational psychologists have been more interested in research in practical technique than have educational sociologists.

The problems of education discussed herein are classified according to the main fields of educational activities: administration, supervision, teaching, extra-curricular activities, school and community, and teacher training. No defense is made of such an arrangement either for completeness or for accuracy. It is simply a convenient practical approach.

#### PROBLEMS OF POLICY-MAKING AND ADMINISTRATION

THE FIELD of administration bristles with problems that should attract sociological researchers. Problems of policy-making are at present exceptionally pressing. School boards, superintendents, and principals are worrying over questions like these: Just what should our schools undertake? Is public money wisely expended in the progress of public schools? Is there evidence that schools are achieving all that educators claim for them? Do we really need as long a school period as we now have? What should

be the objectives of schools of different levels? What curricula can best achieve these objectives? How much of each in the total allotment of time?

From such one can formulate the following sociological problems of research:

(1) The objective determination of societal worths of rural groups and dominant rural institutions and agencies. Educators need to know what activities are more or less important and why. They need criteria or indexes of societal efficiencies.

(2) Studies of population distribution, migration, and trends and tendencies in group memberships. Educators need to know what the probable trends of participations will be. Especially do they want to know how migration of various elements of rural population conditions development of rural elementary schools. Which pupils shall be educated for city or country life and when?

(3) The determination of a division of labor in education between schools and non-school agencies and institutions. This is necessary for economic expenditure of public moneys by avoiding duplication and also for clarification of the precise shortages in educative outcomes of non-school experiences of rural boys and girls.

(4) Analysis of culture areas and organic communities as basic to reorganization of curriculum units. Educators need to know what culture traits or complexes differentiate one area from another in order to make vital adaptations of objectives, curriculum, and contents to community characteristics. They must know what are the homogeneities and what the variant elements. What are the real differences, if any, between rural and urban children?

Particularly is such research urgent because most materials available represent not complete organic analyses of communities but monographic studies. From such we do not know how the interdependencies of rural institutions mutually influence one another. Here the method of the cultural anthropologist should be employed to discover the *ethnos*.

(5) Such analysis would enable rural sociologists to provide educators with a basis for deriving contents for subjects in the curricula that are organically related to life situations — reflecting communities and changes — and for weighting the different subjects of study. Educators need to know how much of a subject for what kinds of children.

(6) Fixing of boundaries of natural areas. Consolidation has been developed without a sufficient background of community analysis. What should be the area of consolidation? Equalization as a policy has come into increasing acceptance but only organic community analysis can determine the extent of applica-

tion and the size of units of organization. Supervision units can also partly be outlined when the facts of organic natural areas are substituted for artificial administrative or political boundaries. Such data would give a factual basis for administration and would have to be established precisely for every rural administrative unit.

(7) The study of the sociological aspects of school support. Educators need to know community data for a program of publicity. What groups exist? What are their chief purposes and what their subsidiary purposes? What are their attitudes and values? What are their variations and similarities? These must be interpreted as resources to be exploited or antipathies to be overcome through differentiated school publicity in order to provide co-operation of rural citizens and adequate financial support.

### PROBLEMS OF TEACHING

THE VIEW is held in some quarters that sociology has little to offer in the improvement of methods of instruction. Two general principles operate today in teaching practice — individualization and socialization. The concept of individualized instruction is a contribution of psychological research, that of socialization comes from sociological theory.

Educators need to know more definitely just what socialization is, how it can be tested and measured, how it can be manipulated and for what outcomes. Here is needed sociological research in rural schoolrooms. So far as the writer can learn, only psychologists are addressing themselves to experimental research into the correlation between mass and speed of learning, type of group organization in class situations, and achievement quotients. There is much discussion as to the relative merits of the Dalton plan, the DeCruy method, the Winnecke scheme, but why not sociological research to aid in determining the facts? More precise knowledge of type teacher-manipulations correlating with type emotional and intellectual results is badly needed.

What is more, since every teaching-learning situation is a social process, more knowledge is needed if only for intelligent control through understanding of these processes.

Therefore rural sociologists should research into

- (1) Child personalities.
- (2) The social worlds of rural children. The children's social worlds are conditioned by the social sets characteristic of a rural area.
- (3) How do rural conditions permanently affect the development of child personality and with what implications for controlling social processes in schools?

(4) What maladjustments of pupils correlate with what type of social experience (a) in schools, (b) out of schools? What changes in such experiences would the sociologist advise (c) to prevent such maladjustments, or (d) to treat them when they occur? Here is work for the clinical sociologist.

(5) The construction of tests of a qualitative character to determine (a) the uses children make of school learnings in non-school social situations, (b) the values in children's personalities of such uses for social adjustments, (c) the various values or worths of such uses to different groups in which children participate and how these diverge from community norms and approaches.

#### PROBLEMS OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

THE PROGRAMS of extra-curricular activities of pupils in rural schools deserve special attention chiefly because in so many situations valid programs do not exist. Experience in city schools indicates that rural pupils may lack important learning opportunities. In this field the problems are:

(1) Study of spontaneous groupings of pupils and the correlations of such groupings with size of schools, geographical and social distance, attitudes of teachers and of parents.

(2) Analysis of pupil uses of out-of-school leisure time and checking of these against community approvals.

(3) Comparison and evaluation of spontaneous groups in schools with leisure groups of the community.

(4) Correlation of type learnings with type voluntary participations as a basis for programming extra-curricular activities.

(5) Analysis of spontaneous groups in and out of schools to discover what values what types of children satisfy through such memberships.

(6) Derivation of new ranking methods for evaluating educational worths of such participations as a substitute for the practical point system.

(7) Correlation of type groups and activities with levels of development in pupils as personalities.

#### PROBLEMS OF RELATING SCHOOLS TO COMMUNITIES

OWING TO INSTITUTIONAL INERTIA communities change sometimes relatively rapidly while schools adhere to traditional practices. Frequently schools touch the life of a rural community only on the fringe of child life. Being non-sectarian and public agencies schools might become agencies of rural welfare. In this field are problems such as these:

(1) What is the present community use of rural schools in a particular area?

(3) What shortages of facilities for group activities exist in a rural community?

■ How can a wider use of the rural school plant — one room or consolidated — make up such shortages?

(4) Analysis of types of leadership — civic, political, recreational, religious — in a rural community. Trace out the rôle of local teachers in such leadership.

(5) Correlation between teachers, school activities, and teachers' leadership in various types of communities.

#### PROBLEMS OF PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

No *range* of rural education is in greater need of skilled assistance than that of teacher training. All the problems heretofore discussed are reflected directly or indirectly in training schools. But there are several of distinct concern to sociologists and they may be formulated thus:

(1) What knowledge content for a course in rural sociology should be devised for teacher-training curricula?

(2) How do field conditions of professional service determine selection in teacher personalities?

(3) What activities do teachers generally carry on that imply what sociological technique in order to equip them with tools for direct analysis of the societal aspects of their teaching situations?

Thus by no means represents the wide varieties of problems that might command the interest of rural researchers. It does show the field of opportunity to gear rural research in the expenditure of Farnell Funds to what should be the chief agency of rural advancement.

There is one other suggestion, in closing, and that is that somewhere two experimental sociological clinics should be set up, one in connection with a consolidated school and one with a number of one and two-teacher schools, to study and demonstrate practical contributions that sociology can make to rural school theory and practice.\*

This leads us into technical questions of applying sociology to educational problems, which is the material of a second volume, and in general deals with the following:

1. What is Sociological Method?
2. How Determine Objectives?
3. How Select Curricula and Course Contents?

\* Kulp, Daniel H., "Fulfillment of Rural Education Demanding Sociological Research," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, January 1920, pp. 253 ff.

4. How Maintain Our Schools?
5. The What and Some of the Hows of Supervision
- How Shall We Teach?
7. How Do Pupils Learn?
8. What Shall We Do With "Fests"?
9. How Direct Voluntary Activities?
10. What Influences Leisure Activities Outside of Schools?
11. Can Adults be Educated?
12. Why the New Movement for Adult Education?

The sociological bases for the technical study of these problems have been presented in this text. If the student has acquired a fair mastery of the sociological concepts as tools of analyzing school phenomena he can proceed with greater confidence than otherwise to the investigation of these complex problems in education.

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#### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why should there be an educational sociology? Why not merely general sociology?
2. Where in the curriculum in normal schools should educational sociology be included? How much of it? In teachers' colleges? In teachers' colleges of post-graduate level? In college or university departments of education?
3. What would be some problems of urban education possible in sociological research as suggested by the author's array of rural educational problems on pp. 558-566?

#### EXERCISES

1. A. Compare the suggested contents of educational sociology as found in Moore's list, p. 557; in Payne's definition, pp. 559-562, and in the Ohio report, p. 549, and draw up a list of course topics.  
B. Compare these lists with the contents of this volume plus the list of problems proposed for Volume II on pp. 566-567. Which sentences or lines are most nearly alike? What items are not included in the materials of pp. 558-566, can you justify these exclusions?
2. Draw up as many reasons as possible for "Why educational sociology should be taught to students of education." The same for "Why it should not be taught." (Can be arranged as a debate or comparative discussion.)
3. Explain the rise of educational sociology in terms of the social movements of the period from 1890-1930.

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